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Chernyshev on Eliminating Missiles, NATO Policy
LD0908151288 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The scrapping of intermediate-range missiles started in the populated locality of Lesnaya (Brest region) in the Soviet Union on August 8. As is known, the start was made in our country a week ago of the process of scrapping the shorter-range missiles. The U.S. Defence Department has notified the USSR that it is planning to start the elimination of engines of Pershing missiles on September 8 this year.

The Soviet programme for a nuclear-free world proclaimed in January 1986 has helped to give a boost to the disarmament process. The bringing into effect of the Soviet-American INF Treaty is the first major step towards real nuclear disarmament. Certain progress has been made at the Soviet-American talks on a 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons in a linkage with the observance of the ABM Treaty in the course of a period agreed upon. Persevering struggle is under way for a ban on chemical weapons and an end to nuclear tests. A coordination is being completed of the mandate of the talks on a cut in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

Disarmament, and the USSR is firmly convinced of that, is the main road to strengthening security for all. It is necessary to lend to the disarmament process a continuous, steadily growing and deepening character, use the favourable opportunities for making fresh gains in that effort.

Yet in connection with the stand of definite circles in the West the alarming question arises: whether a pause in the process of arms cut starts and whether the reverse movement may start.

Such a concern is determined, above all, by the commitment of some Western capitals to nuclear arms, to "nuclear deterrence." Contrary to all logic they continue presenting that weapon of general destruction as a "guarantor of peace" and claiming that the third world war has not broken out due to that. Yet it would make more sense to assume a different thing: Had there been no nuclear weapons, humanity would not find itself in the past decades on the brink of a catastrophe at certain moments. At the same time without the nuclear weapons there would be a better chance for implementing the provisions of the U.N. Charter on creating a comprehensive system of international security, as a result of which the world would be far more durable than it is now. If no world conflagration has broken out until now in the world, who can be sure that this is not going to happen in the future, at least as a result of a technical error or incorrect appraisal of the intentions of one of the sides?

The Soviet military-political leadership is sure that a non-nuclear ensuring of security is possible. It can be achieved on the basis of sensible sufficiency providing for as few weapons as possible, sufficient for defence, but by no means sufficient for attack. The nuclear components and chemical weapons should be totally excluded from the general security equations.

They in the West often try to justify the "need" for preserving nuclear weapons by the claim that it allows for a "compensation" of the advantages of the Warsaw Treaty in the field of conventional weapons. First there is no such an advantage, there is a balance of forces. Second, there are disbalances or asymmetries in separate types of conventional weapons which shaped by some categories of weapons in favour of the East, by others—in favour of the West, but they do not set up the equilibrium. But even with the existing general balance of forces the Soviet Union and its allies persistently propose an exchange of data on the conventional weapons determining the disbalances and asymmetries and eliminate these partial inequalities and then sharply reduce the level of military confrontation by joint efforts.

It might seem that such proposals of the Warsaw Treaty states, which take into account the concern of our Western partners, should be immediately and enthusiastically accepted by NATO. Unfortunately, this does not happen. Such vagueness on the part of the North Atlantic alliance is, to put it mildly, a source of perplexity which further increases, while all sorts of concepts are put forward in the West on "additional armament" and compensation for the INF being eliminated now. It must be noted, for that matter, that NATO has no integral concept of disarmament in general. Yet there are more than enough concepts of a diametrically opposite character.

It is believed that the revision of the strategic concepts drawn up in the cold war period and the development of an integral concept of disarmament have become urgent for the North Atlantic alliance. This is highly important politically.

Yazov, UK's Younger on European Security
PM0908154188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Aug 88 p 3

[Under the rubric "Intersection of Opinions" UK Defense Secretary George Younger answers a question put by TRUD's London correspondent A. Burmistenko; Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister, answers the same question put by TRUD's editorial office: "Is a Europe Without Nuclear Weapons Possible?"—boldface as published]

[Text] Is a Europe without nuclear weapons possible? British Defense Secretary George Younger answers that question at the request of TRUD's London correspondent A. Burmistenko:

[Younger] Nothing has demonstrated the improvement of East-West relations more convincingly than the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which bans the relevant Soviet and U.S. ground-based nuclear missiles. This was an outstanding achievement. And now, as I write these lines, we are hoping for similar progress in the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union aimed at producing a treaty on the substantial reduction of the arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons.

But we must not stop here. We must try to make progress in other areas of arms control with the aim of creating a more secure world with a reduced number of armaments in the two sides' arsenals. The question is that of the precise goals that we should now set ourselves. I know the Soviet viewpoint that we should try to remove all nuclear weapons from Europe. But we must ask ourselves: Will that make Europe a safer place or not? I must honestly say that I do not believe in greater European security without nuclear weapons.

For us in Western Europe, as for our North American allies, the grim reality is that our conventional troops in Europe (including French and Spanish troops) are considerably outnumbered by the Warsaw Pact's troops. For example, in Europe as a whole the Warsaw Pact has around 51,000 tanks to 17,000 NATO tanks, 37,500 artillery pieces to 10,600 on the NATO side, and 7,700 tactical aircraft to 4,300 for NATO.

The picture does not differ much if we take central Europe alone, where the NATO countries are potentially most vulnerable. In this region the Warsaw Pact exceeds NATO by a ratio of more than 2 to 1 in terms of tanks and more than 3 to 1 in artillery. Tanks and artillery are the crucial types of arms from the viewpoint of capturing and retaining territory. In addition, the Soviet Union has the largest, most diverse, and most sophisticated potential in the world for waging chemical warfare.

From the Western viewpoint such a large preponderance can only be viewed as a serious potential threat to our security. The Warsaw Pact leaders assure us that they have no aggressive intentions. So long as that **ability** to conduct offensive actions exists, however, the West is obliged to protect itself as a precautionary measure.

NATO is a defensive alliance. We will never be first to use weapons, but if we are attacked we shall be ready to take any actions we deem necessary for self-defense. This, of course, may include the use of nuclear weapons. The removal of this type of weapon from the European Continent will mean that the West European countries will be dangerously vulnerable in the face of the Warsaw Pact's considerably superior conventional forces.

For that reason Great Britain considers that the priority areas in the arms control sphere—in addition to the limitation of the U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals on which talks are now being held—must be agreements on the complete elimination of chemical weapons in the world and the establishment of a stable and secure level of conventional forces in Europe. We believe that only after the solution of these problems will it be possible to hold talks on the further reduction of nuclear armaments in Europe.

But even then we do not consider the removal of all nuclear weapons from Europe desirable. Equality in conventional arms will bring important gains but it will not free us from the need to have a nuclear component in our preparations for ensuring security.

First of all, we proceed from the practical consideration that even if nuclear weapons are removed from Europe, both the East and the West will still have a great many types of nuclear weapons in other regions capable of hitting targets on the European Continent.

Even more significant is the fact that nuclear weapons make a unique contribution to the maintenance of peace. Before these weapons appeared Europe was ravaged and devastated by successive "conventional" wars in the last of which the Soviet Union alone lost 20 million dead. It is patently obvious that conventional armaments could not prevent those wars even when the two warring sides' forces were equal.

It is a different matter nowadays when aggression entails the risk of nuclear retaliation and is not the more rational choice. We must ask ourselves the question: Will we not be making Europe vulnerable again to conventional war—but this time the kind of war which will be waged using modern weapons systems many times more destructive than their predecessors.

This does not mean that the security of East and West cannot be ensured or even consolidated with lower levels of nuclear weapons. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is an example of what can be achieved. NATO has always sought to keep the number of units of its nuclear weapons at the **minimum** level necessary for our defense. For example, since 1979 NATO has reduced the number of its nuclear warheads in Europe by 2,400. Even after the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is implemented the Soviet Union will still have far more systems in Europe capable of carrying nuclear weapons than NATO.

When we in the West express these ideas the Soviet Union accuses us of "stubbornly defending nuclear deterrence" and "old methods of thinking." But our Soviet neighbors must understand that the Warsaw Pact's advantages in conventional and chemical weapons as well as in geography mean that for the foreseeable future West European security will be partially based on nuclear deterrence. Therefore, the Soviet efforts aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons in Europe threaten our security more than they strengthen confidence on the continent. If the Soviet Union wants to reduce the excessive dependence on nuclear weapons why does it

not unilaterally reduce its tactical nuclear systems (battlefield nuclear weapons) where in the sphere of short-range missiles, for example, it has a 14 to 1 superiority?

We must take account of the realities of the modern world. We will not achieve greater security in Europe if we return to the prenuclear era when Europe was a far more dangerous place than it is now in terms of lives lost and countries devastated. Nor will we achieve this by waiting for the ideal world which at present is out of reach. Before abandoning the security which nuclear deterrence provides we must convincingly show that there is another, better means of preserving peace. That alternative has still to be found.

Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister, puts forth the Soviet viewpoint at the request of the TRUD editorial office:

[Yazov] The entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles opens the way to a more secure world—one free of nuclear weapons and violence. We in the Soviet Union see this treaty as the beginning of the implementation of the program for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons before the end of this century as put forward in the 15 January 1986 Statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

But the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is only the first step, and its significance greatly depends on whether it is followed by second, third, and other steps, and on what kind of steps they are. What are the prospects after the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles: Will there be a reduction, a lessening of confrontation, will there be a pause in the arms reduction process, or will there even be a regression?

It is not easy to answer those questions. Nevertheless, we look to the future with optimism. First, because the trend of the positive development of Soviet-U.S. relations (Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow) sets the guidelines for the future and will influence the all-European process, particularly the earliest successful completion of the Vienna meeting on security and cooperation in Europe. Second, averting the threat of war has the inevitable result that the world's countries will have greater need of one another in their development than they do now. In that context it is obvious that the idea of partnership in the sphere of creating an all-embracing system of international security must ultimately prevail.

As for the prospects for security after the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, in our opinion the key to a secure future is to be found in the strengthening of confidence and predictability in East-West relations. This can be achieved only on the basis of constructive dialogue between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. The arms race cannot be won now. Neither side will permit the other to gain military superiority over it.

The strengthening of security must be sought through disarmament. The disarmament process must be an inalienable feature of East-West relations. That is why all concepts of "arms upgrading" and "compensation" are unacceptable. They are contrary to the situation and the vital interests of the NATO countries themselves.

The new political thinking in the USSR is based on a new dynamic line capable of leading to mutually acceptable solutions of complex problems. That is confirmed by our flexible compromise stance on all disarmament questions: the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and constructive actions in the solution of regional problems. The USSR and the allied socialist countries are ready for talks on all matters and offer concrete proposals. We have set out our programs for the elimination of nuclear weapons and the radical reduction of conventional arms in Europe and have proclaimed a military doctrine aimed at ensuring European security on defensive principles.

We believe that the West must respond more promptly to our initiatives and seek ways for more active collaboration. At the moment we do not see a clear program (concept) of disarmament from the West. With good reason. It is clear that certain difficulties persist here.

The main obstacle seems to be political in character. It is the question of political will, the question of intentions.

The concepts and doctrines produced during the cold war (the forties and fifties) are also visibly influencing the West's position. They were founded on the delusions of the short-lived period of atomic monopoly. The West cannot free itself of the myth that nuclear weapons guarantee peace. However, this "guarantee" has the capacity to destroy all life on earth.

Western representatives say that the nuclear deterrent is irreplaceable. But the concept of "nuclear deterrence" was obsolete long ago. It goes back to the cold war period and by its nature is internally contradictory and dangerous. After all, one cannot state that nuclear conflict will mean catastrophe for all and at the same time advocate the retention of nuclear weapons as a means of safeguarding peace. No one has yet proved, and indeed no one can prove, that a third world war would necessarily have broken out had there been no nuclear weapons. There is another more logical assumption: it is that conversely, had there been no nuclear weapons, mankind, including the population of Europe, would not have been on the brink of catastrophe at certain times. And such moments have occurred. At the same time, without nuclear weapons there would be a far greater

chance of implementing the provisions of the UN Charter on the creation of a system of collective security and, as a result, peace would be much more durable than it is now.

If a third world war has not yet broken out, no one today can guarantee that this will not happen in the future and that nuclear weapons will not be used, especially since the United States and NATO do not rule out their first use. Can one tolerate any, even the slightest degree of the probability of mankind's self-destruction?

"Nuclear deterrence" does not permit a search for a solution to the nuclear problem. It encourages the arms race, leads to the further stockpiling of deadly weapons, upsets the military equilibrium, and increases the risk of nuclear war. The offensive thrust of this concept is clearly visible in the field manuals, regulations, and in all the fundamental directive documents on building the armed forces of the United States and NATO.

The "nuclear deterrence" concept encourages some of our negotiating partners to strengthen their security at the expense of others. Hence the endless fuss over tactics, the attempts to immerse accords in linkages and conditions, and to haggle for one-sided advantages.

There are obstacles of a psychological order which are expressed in the cultivation of the image of other peoples as the enemy and in maximizing the differences between states' political systems. Weapons and fear, weapons and distrust—these are the communicating vessels which feed one another.

In these conditions it is logical to ask the question—is the goal of building a nuclear-free world which the Soviet Union supports at all realistic? We answer that question in the affirmative. It is possible to safeguard security by nonnuclear means. It is possible on the principles of reasonable sufficiency, by which we mean not only a certain level of armaments but also a certain state of mind and a psychological and political inclination toward the smallest possible quantity of weapons—sufficient for defense but insufficient for aggression.

Much is said in the West about the Warsaw Pact's so-called superiority in conventional armaments because of which, it is claimed, nuclear weapons must be retained. Such statements do not stand up to criticism. NATO specialists try to emphasize the Warsaw Pact's superiority in certain elements of ground forces' conventional arms. But they do not agree to a bilateral in-depth analysis of the real capabilities of the sides' armed forces and a comparative examination of the military potentials as a whole. They refuse to take account of the navies and air forces. Why? Why do they emphasize only tanks and artillery? Is it really possible to break up the armed forces when analyzing the correlation of military potentials? Clearly, the fact is that this NATO line is aimed at weakening the USSR and at maintaining the strongest U.S. and NATO components (their navies and air forces).

Our approach to the solution of the problem of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe is based on the existence of approximate military equilibrium between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The historically formed imbalances in the structure of the sides' armed forces does not upset that equilibrium. And we propose to the West that we jointly take the path of asymmetrical reductions: Let the West make the appropriate reductions in those sorts of weapons of which it has more and we will unhesitatingly eliminate the "surplus" in those types where we have superiority.

We also offer a constructive approach to the solution of the problem of banning chemical weapons. We have made public our stocks of chemical weapons and have ceased production. Unfortunately, the other side is concealing its stocks while at the same time stating for propaganda purposes that we have superiority in this kind of weaponry. Instead of ceasing production it has even begun manufacturing a new kind of chemical weapon—binary weapons. The question is, hasn't the time come to switch from propaganda to the serious examination of this problem too?

When talking about a readiness to eliminate the imbalances and asymmetry in conventional armaments and weapons of mass destruction the Warsaw Pact states propose to the NATO countries that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles be reinforced by new efforts to reduce the military arsenals, that the disarmament process be made continuous, and that its irreversibility be guaranteed. This would make it possible to take yet another most important step on the path of reducing military confrontation and moving toward a nuclear-free, safe, and nonviolent world.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds News Briefing

Southern Africa Agreements Supported

LD0908144088 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—The Soviet Union fully supports agreements reached at the fourth round of talks that ended in Geneva between Angola, Cuba and South Africa with the mediation of the United States on the settlement of the situation in the South-West of Africa and wishes participants in the talks further success.

This was stated at a briefing today by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "It is important today to ensure the reliable fulfilment of the agreements by all the parties concerned. The Soviet Union is ready to do all that depends on it for the successful progress of the talks and of the settlement process in general", he said.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman reiterated the readiness of the USSR to act together with other members of the U.N. Security Council as a guarantor of this settlement. "With this in view we are going to further maintain contacts with participants in the talks, members of the Security Council, the U.N.. secretary general and other parties concerned", the Soviet diplomat pointed out.

According to reports reaching here, perceptible progress has been achieved in Geneva in the settlement of the conflict situation in the South-West of Africa, Perfilyev said. The Geneva accords give a real impetus to the whole of the process of political settlement in the south of Africa and consolidate hopes of all the peace-minded countries, including the Soviet Union, that this old conflict will finally be settled by political means on the basis of the balance of interests of all the sides drawn into it. "This approach is in line with the general course of the Soviet Union aimed at the settlement of conflict situations by political means and through collective efforts of all the parties concerned", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Gulf Cease-Fire Welcomed

LD0908153588 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Today's briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre was focused around regional problems.

"The Soviet Union welcomes the news that an Iranian-Iraqi cease-fire is to enter into force on August 20," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told the briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

"This event has since long been awaited by the peoples of the warring countries and all those who really sought to put an end to the bloody and destructive conflict that went on for nearly eight years."

The spokesman praised the important role of the United Nations and the Security Council and U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in the efforts to transfer the military conflict into the channel of political negotiations.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman commented on the results of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's working visit to Afghanistan.

He pointed out that the intensity of Soviet-Afghan contacts reflected the concern of the two countries' leadership over peace in Afghanistan and the region, over the exercise of the will and aspirations of the Afghan people and consolidation of all its patriotic forces on a single platform of national reconciliation.

The Pakistani side had indicated lately that the Geneva agreements did not provide for a Pakistani pledge to give up its sympathy towards the mujahidin, said the spokesman.

Besides, the Pakistani side claimed that it backed the U.N. activity on settling the situation relating to Afghanistan. The journalists present at the briefing were told that the U.N. General Assembly adopted in 1987 a special resolution condemning international terrorism. 153 countries, Pakistan included, voted for the resolution.

This document urges all nations to prevent preparatory and organisational activity on their territories aimed at staging terrorist and subversive acts on their territories and beyond, which are directed against other nations or their citizens.

Most of the violations of the Geneva agreements on the settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan, said the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, were "not only in the Pakistani authorities' refusal to give up their sympathies towards the mujahidin, but also in their real support for their military activity directed against the Republic of Afghanistan."

"The Soviet Union fully backs the results of the fourth round of talks held by Angola, Cuba and South Africa with U.S. mediation, completed in Geneva, on the settlement of the situation in southern Africa," the spokesman said.

"It is now important to provide for the guaranteed fulfilment of the agreements by all sides.

"The Soviet Union is ready to do everything in its power for the successful advancement of the talks and the entire process of settlement."

In this connection, the Soviet Union reaffirmed its readiness to act jointly with other members of the U.N. Security Council as guarantors of settlement.

U.S. 'Obstacle' in Central America

LD0908155088 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—"The Guatemalan agreement has found approval and support of the world community who regard it as a real possibility for unblocking the conflict situation in Central America". This has been stated today by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists held at the Press Centre of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR. He touched upon the question in connection with the anniversary of the signing by five Latin American presidents of the agreement "measures for establishing durable and lasting peace in Central America". But this agreement has not yet been materialized in its most substantial part concerning attainment of an accord on ceasefire in those countries of the region where hostilities are under way.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman underlined that the main obstacle to successful realisation of the Guatemalan agreement was the policy of the United States which continues its attempts of imposing unacceptable terms upon Central American countries and threatens to resume aid to the Nicaraguan armed opposition.

Touching in this connection on the results of the Central American tour of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and his negotiations with the foreign ministers of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the Central American states, above all Guatemala and Costa Rica, refused to be led by the Americans and did not support U.S. anti-Nicaraguan manoeuvres.

"The results of George Shultz' visit to Central America show that Washington's attempts to block the peace settlement process and to impose power formulas for solution of problems of the region are opposed, as before, by the Central and South American countries' tendency of preserving the negotiating mechanism of Latin American countries themselves, which rules out external, the more so power, interference," said Vadim Perfilyev.

Nuclear Waste Dumping Denied

LD0908170888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug (TASS)—A spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has described as disinformation the material which has recently reappeared in the foreign mass information media alleging that the Soviet Union has buried radioactive waste in Benin.

In reply to a question by a TASS diplomatic correspondent, he recalled that the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already had occasion to expose fabrications on this subject disseminated by the BBC African Service in April of this year. Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the directorate said: We stated at a briefing on 28 April that the allegations about the burial of radioactive waste in Benin by the Soviet Union were typical examples of disinformation and attempts to undermine our nuclear policy in the international arena. We can only regret that these attempts are being resumed and are even evoking some sort of response. The July issue of the magazine AFRICA NEWSFILE is being referred to as a source. Unfortunately, certain respected international organizations have also reproduced these allegations in their official publications.

It is also quite natural to ask who derives advantage from this, and who is so persistently trying to defame our country by resorting to such blatant slander, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman went on. Are they not guided by the wish to cover up in some way the unseemly activity of those who really are not averse to turning Africa into a dump of harmful waste, something against which a wave of general indignation is rising?

"We once again categorically reject such insinuations and declare with full responsibility that the Soviet Union has never buried any radioactive wastes in Benin or in other countries," Vadim Perfilyev said. "The Soviet Union consistently adheres to a principled stance advocating the necessity of developing all-round international cooperation to keep the environment clean and ensure ecological safety for all nations."

Shevardnadze-Afghan Talks Cited

LD0908202588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was held at the main Press Centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow today, chaired by Comrade Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Oleg Gushchin, our correspondent, has the following report:

[Begin recording] [Gushchin] The briefing was dedicated to the current issues of international politics. It touched on the problems of halting military actions between Iran and Iraq, quadripartite talks on Namibia with the participation of Angola, the RSA, Cuba, and United States, and also the development of events in and around Afghanistan. Speaking about the results of the recently completed visit of Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze to Afghanistan, Comrade Perfilyev said in particular:

[Perfilyev] In the course of our talks, meetings, and discussions, mutual and profound anxiety was expressed over the actions of the Pakistani side, which is systematically permitting grave and blatant violations of the

Geneva agreements and encouraging interference in the Afghan affairs from Pakistani territory, as shown by the transfer of weapons and equipment, by sending armed detachments, and by permitting the anti-Afghan forces to retain camps and bases in Pakistan.

The joint Soviet-Afghan report stresses that if the Pakistan authorities continued their obstructionist policy, it could lead to wrecking the Geneva process and its positive results. The report notes that such a development could not but prompt the Soviet Union and Afghanistan to draw the appropriate conclusions and act accordingly if such interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan does not cease.

[Gushchin] Considerable attention was also paid at the briefing to the situation in Central America in the light of the second round of talks between the U.S. secretary of state and the ministers of foreign affairs of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, and El Salvador. It was noted that the attempt to put together an anti-Nicaraguan front at these talks had not succeeded due to Guatemala's and Costa Rica's refusal to participate implementing U.S. plans in the region. Touching upon our country's position on this problem, Comrade Perfilyev noted:

[Perfilyev] We are still firmly convinced that the key to peace in Central America is for all signatories of the Guatemala agreement to strictly observe it and for the countries of that region to have a chance to manage their affairs with no outside interference of any kind and on the basis of respect for the right to self-determination.

For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to assist in creating favorable conditions for the success of this agreement and for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America.

[Gushchin] At the end of a briefing, Comrade Perfilyev answered a number of questions from foreign journalists. [end recording]

Progress of Vienna CSCE Discussions Viewed

PM0908132388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan article: Vienna Meeting: Considerable Progress Observed"]

[Text] Vienna—The working rhythm at the Vienna meeting has reached a high point recently. Accords have been achieved on the majority of fundamental issues as a result of this.

This has been helped by the fact that the delegations from the 35 CSCE member states remained in Vienna to continue their work at the beginning of August on the initiative of FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher. It is generally acknowledged that they managed to achieve a great deal in this time and to coordinate the sides' positions on a series of important problems. The delegations will not even be using the brief technical break from 8-29 August to rest—they will be consulting with their governments before approving the final document. The new date for the end of the Vienna meeting is the middle of October.

This is how Rudolf Torovskiy [name as published], head of the Austrian delegation, regards the work done to date and the prospects for the Vienna meeting:

"I will be frank. Ever since the delegations from the neutral and nonaligned countries instructed Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock to publicize the draft final document they had drawn up—which he did in the middle of May—the talks have been difficult and slow. But I cannot say that these 2 and ½ months, when the delegations have consulted with their governments and sought compromise solutions, have been a waste of time. Not at all. The considerable progress we have now made shows that our draft served as a good basis for the talks. This opinion is shared by virtually all the participants in the Vienna meeting. Solutions to most of the outstanding contentious issues have now been outlined. Some problems—and it is true that there are quite a number of them—will require greater willingness for compromise on the part of the participants in the meeting."

Ekkekhard Eickhoff [name as published], head of the FRG delegation, feels it is an important achievement that the participants in the Vienna meeting have agreed on the need to create a permanent mechanism to examine all human rights problems that arise. When discussing the sections of the draft final document which deal with human contacts and information, we succeeded in focusing our attention on the remaining unresolved issues, E. Eickhoff said. This was helped to a considerable extent by the Soviet delegation's initiative. Our final document must be an important and decisive step in the process of broadening contacts between people. We have recently been able to establish a number of other coincidences of views.

The Soviet delegation's view of the progress made at the Vienna meeting was given by Yu.B. Kashlev, head of the delegation.

"We can already consider 90 percent of the text of the future final document agreed," Yu.B. Kashlev said. "The text drafted by the neutral and nonaligned countries for the section on military security is perfectly acceptable to the socialist countries. But the NATO countries have introduced a large number of amendments to it, and discussing these will take some time. The delegations from these countries will have to adopt a more flexible attitude and be more willing to compromise if the obstacles in the way of concluding the Vienna meeting are to be removed.

"The greatest progress has been made on the section entitled 'Principles' and, in particular, on the provisions concerning human rights. Here we have managed to eliminate virtually all differences—with a few exceptions. We have found the optimum means of combining provisions on the sovereign rights of states, including the right to establish their own laws, with an accord to bring national legislations into line with international responsibilities. Basically, we can consider the sections on religious freedoms, freedom of movement, activity to protect citizens' rights, and so forth acceptable to most of the delegations.

"Some time after the Vienna meeting," the Soviet diplomat continued, "we will obviously say that it has opened a qualitatively new stage in cooperation between the 35 CSCE member states in the human rights sphere. This is a positive phenomenon and one which corresponds to the nature of contemporary relations in Europe and to the processes of democratization and glasnost taking place in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

"In the last few days we have managed to remove a whole series of amendments in the 'second basket' that were earlier introduced by the sides but which have no obvious practical significance. Nevertheless, there are still more than 10 unresolved issues, which mainly stem from the national stands of a number of delegations. The Soviet delegation has urged all partners to give due attention to this important chapter of the final document and look for an opportunity to reach a rapid agreement on this section.

"Some progress has also been made at the consultations between 23 countries from the Warsaw Pact and NATO on drawing up a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. In addition to sections of the mandate already agreed on, such as the aims of the talks and the control and exchange of information, the preamble, and the accord on starting the talks in 1988, in recent weeks we have established who will be taking part in the talks and the binding international nature of any future agreements. We have also agreed virtually all the organizational conditions and the procedure for conducting the talks.

"The sides have come closer together on a key element of the mandate—the subject of the talks and, in particular, the consideration of dual-purpose weapons. We have also discussed in detail questions concerning the definition of the talks' geographical framework.

"In short," the head of the Soviet delegation concluded, "we have all the preconditions for concluding the Vienna meeting with substantial, balanced results in autumn this year. This is still the main aim of the Soviet delegation."

U.S. Debt Behind UN Financial Crisis

LD1008092188 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 10 Aug 88

[Text] New York August 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

The United Nations is facing an acute shortage of funds as it begins to consider practical issues connected with the immediate creation of an Iran-Iraq military observer group in line with the decision of the Security Council. The problem was discussed in detail at Tuesday's consultations held by members of this important United Nations organ.

Concern over the financial problems has been expressed for some weeks now by U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and some other leaders of the world body, whose prestige markedly increased as a result of the conclusion of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and termination of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

"If we are unable to fund our activities, how can we succeed?" Perez de Cuellar said in an interview with the weekly NEWSWEEK. U.N. officials warned that if Washington fails to pay its outstanding contributions the international organisation will be left without funds already in October-November, NEWSWEEK writes.

The financial crisis has been ripening for several years after the U.S. Congress took a number of steps to link part of the American fee (25 percent of the budget of the organisation) with the structural changes in the U.N. itself. Today the United States owes more than 466 million dollars in outstanding debts to the U.N. Judging by the statements of American representatives, it has no intention to pay them.

Answering journalists' questions on Tuesday, Perez de Cuellar expressed serious concern over funding the activities of the U.N. Iran-Iraq military observer group. To these ends, he said, nearly 74 million dollars will be needed. Perez de Cuellar made it clear that the United Nations did not have those funds. Therefore Perez de Cuellar called it "a good question" when an American journalist asked him about prospects for the U.S. to pay its debt. "You are an American journalist. You should advise your government to participate fully in these efforts for peace," the U.N. secretary general replied.

He did not rule out the possibility of resuming in the nearest future the work of the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly to discuss financial problems. However, it is hard to find funds even for this purpose, Perez de Cuellar said.

'International Review' on U.S. Bases, Nicaragua

PM1008090788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[Gennadiy Zafesov "International Review": "The World This Past Week"]

[Text] There is a growing belief in the world that there can be no winners in a nuclear war. The first practical steps have been taken in the implementation of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles: The first Soviet missiles have been destroyed. A new effort is being made to improve the international situation. Soviet foreign policy is conducting itself in an enterprising and constructive manner in the world arena. In recent years it has acquired even greater authority, our proposals are being heeded and analyzed, and many statesmen, politicians, and public figures in the West are expressing approval of them. But there are also influential forces who do not like the changes in mutual relations in the world community. They are making a considerable effort to maintain tension in the world and generate confrontation between various states.

Strong Points of Tension [subhead]

Military bases on other people's territory play an important part in U.S. military doctrine. To all appearances, the Pentagon and the White House do not intend to change their views in this respect. This is suggested above all by the fact that the United States is currently conducting a series of talks whose ultimate goal is to keep its strong points in various parts of the world. In particular, talks have just ended in Greece and are still going on with the Philippines. In neither case is there mutual understanding.

In all manner of countries of late there has been a distinct reluctance on the part of the public to tolerate a foreign military presence. Above all, for national security reasons. We will not consider here the possibility of eventual conflict in which foreign bases might be targets of retaliatory action. The world situation is changing for the better and the prerequisites are being established for this trend to gather momentum. But the presence of foreign military bases is unsafe as far as the host countries are concerned in peacetime as well. For example, the possibility of accidents, say, on nuclear submarines or, worse still, unforeseen incidents involving nuclear weapons. This hypothesis is not that far from reality, particularly as there have been precedents.

One can well understand people who do not want to live, work, and sleep in the vicinity of a foreign nuclear arsenal. This reluctance is becoming increasingly persistent and is embracing wider and wider circles. The governments of countries which have U.S. military bases on their territory can no longer ignore it. One might cite as an example Spain's decision to deny "hospitality" to 72 U.S. F-16 aircraft that are still based at Torrejon de Ardoz at the moment. It is true that they are already looking for a "nest" on Italian territory, but the Spanish public's stance is highly indicative.

The talks on the future of U.S. bases in Greece have been a laborious process. The Greek-American agreement "on cooperation in the economic and defense sphere," whereby U.S. military facilities were stationed on Greek territory, runs out this year. According to it, the United States is obliged to withdraw its bases within 17 months after the expiry of the treaty. So essentially it is now a question of a new treaty. Observers believe that it would differ from the previous one in at least one detail. If the agreement is reached it will not come into effect without a national referendum.

At times the question of the presence of U.S. bases becomes a basic haggling exercise. The talks on the status of U.S. military bases in the Philippines are an example of this. According to a brief joint communique, "significant differences have emerged on the question of the size of compensation." The French paper LES ECHOS noted in this connection that the problem is more financial than political. Naturally, the governments providing national territory for foreign bases retain the right to hold talks as they see fit. It is their prerogative. But let us try to see why the United States is so intent on keeping its bases on the territory of other states.

First of all it is a manifestation of imperial thinking: Maintaining and expanding its influence in other regions thousands of miles away from the United States. It sees its bases as strong points for conducting the policy it wants to conduct, a constant component of which is the threat of force, or, to put it simply, blackmail. More often than not nuclear blackmail. The United States is not against "compensating" for the reduction in the number of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles with other types of nuclear armaments. It is in connection with this that Washington wants freedom of maneuvers for its aircraft and warships—carriers of nuclear weapons.

It is here that U.S. diplomacy uses a simple ruse: If you do not want to site nuclear weapons on your territory we will not insist, but allow us to enter and pass through carrying them. Given modern means of warfare, to put it crudely, this is six of one and half a dozen of the other. Nevertheless, this maneuver sometimes works. At the Spanish-American talks on concluding a new bilateral treaty on friendship and cooperation, which were broken off just recently, Washington managed to get Madrid to include in the treaty a pledge not to demand from the United States any information on weapons on board warships calling at Spanish ports. It is true that the treaty was not concluded, but the U.S. stance is highly typical and characteristic. Here is another example:

Literally as these lines were being written, the U.S. nuclear attack submarine "Houston" was calling at the Japanese port of Yokosuka with Tomahawk cruise missiles on board. Formally the Japanese Government

reserves the right to hold consultations with the United States on the bringing of U.S. nuclear weapons into the country, but it does not use it in order not to undermine the "relations of trust" with Washington.

Certainly this is entirely a matter for the Japanese Government, but the proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout the world is a global question that affects everyone. Incidentally, according to reports that have appeared in the Japanese press, there are nine special groups at U.S. military bases on Japanese territory whose job is to eliminate the consequences of potential incidents involving nuclear weapons. It is a fair question that if they do not intend to take nuclear weapons there, why have these groups been set up?

Certainly the presence of military bases on other countries' territory in no way contributes to general security and the improvement of the international climate. The bases have been and remain strong points of tension. If the spider's web of bases would be cleared from the planet, the air would be cleaner, one would breathe more easily, above all because there would be less suspicion and distrust and more confidence in the future and stability.

Of course, fine intentions alone are not enough. Real steps are needed, and our country is taking them. For example, the USSR's readiness, expressed by M.S. Gorbachev in Warsaw, to withdraw similar aircraft from forward-based localities in Eastern Europe as long as NATO does not redeploy its 72 fighter-bombers from Spain to Italy. This is, so to speak, a concrete quest for balance by means of reducing military confrontation. It is part and parcel of the Soviet Union's global proposal to completely eliminate by the year 2000 the presence of foreign troops and military bases on foreign territory. One is reminded here that the most impressive political results have been achieved as a result of dialogue, with the active participation of other interested parties. In such cases silence signifies adherence to the old dogmas and conservative political concepts.

Dangerous Hotbeds [subhead]

If military bases on the territory of other states can be called strong points of tension, then regional conflicts would be best defined as the hotbeds of this tension. Despite their local nature, they have an adverse effect on the international situation as a whole and complicate and destabilize it. There are exceedingly complex regional tangles whose unraveling would certainly benefit not only the countries directly involved in them, but also their neighbors and other states situated in some cases thousands of miles away from the smoldering hotbed. They include the situation in Central America and, above all, around Nicaragua. Nicaragua's internal conflicts would have been settled long ago if the flames had not been fanned by the United States.

The United States is averse to the Sandinistas' revolution and is continuing to back the contras with an obstinacy worthy of a better cause. It is indicative that as soon as there is a hint of a solution to the conflict the United States takes immediate action to frustrate normalization and exacerbate the situation. It is all concealed by a veil of talk about "democracy" and even of its salvation. I see the United States as a fireman whose hose is spewing out not water, but combustible material. This is the only explanation for the protracted tension in and around Nicaragua.

The roles of "firemen" fanning the flames have been assigned. Making a radio broadcast to Americans the other day, U.S. President R. Reagan again advocated the resumption of aid to the contras. He complained to his fellow citizens about the House of Representatives, which had turned down his request for "effective aid for the freedom fighters." In a commentary on this topic, J. Miklaszewski, NBC correspondent at the White House, recalled a curious detail: "President Reagan, who once declared that he was a contra himself, is again expecting Congress to give them aid."

While the President works on public opinion, the State Department is going about its own business; that is, trying to influence governments and political and public circles in Latin America. It was to this end that U.S. foreign policy department head G. Shultz went on a tour of countries in the Latin American region. Note that Shultz' itinerary did not include Nicaragua, since the United States is continuing to refuse to have direct talks with that country. In the Guatemalan capital Shultz met with Central American countries' foreign ministers (the Nicaraguan representative was not present—G.Z.), and he tried to foist on his neighbors an anti-Nicaraguan communique containing unwarranted charges against the Sandinista government. The representatives of Costa Rica and Guatemala refused to sign it. So the foreign policy action had failed. An unequivocal attitude toward it was expressed, for example, in Argentina, in whose capital 10,000 people attended a demonstration protesting against Washington's crude interference in Latin American countries' affairs. It is indicative that the leaders of various political parties attended the demonstration.

The reaction in Nicaragua was natural and more than understandable. D. Ortega, the country's president, declared that the U.S. Administration's plans to knock the Central American countries together into an anti-Nicaraguan coalition could lead to irreparable consequences and be an obstacle to the achievement of peace in the region. Washington opts for a diametrically opposite viewpoint: The White House is convinced that only it knows the recipe for a settlement. Although the means it prescribes are more like a witch-doctor's methods of treatment. "Dealing with the Sandinista regime was one of Ronald Reagan's administration's chief goals, or, some claim, an obsession," NBC comments. "But now that Reagan has less than 6 months left in office, this is scarcely likely to happen. Yet the President is not giving

up." As the NBC television announcer said, "the Reagan administration intends to continue the war against Nicaragua until his last day in office."

Yes, the present administration is evidently not going to abandon its chosen course. One notices in this connection that the question of aid for the contras has unexpectedly created problems for the Democratic Party representatives involved in the election race to the White House. The thing is that their presidential and vice presidential candidates hold opposite views. Michael Dukakis is against aid for the contras, Lloyd Bentsen is in favor of it. Opinion is divided in the party itself. Liberal Democrats say there can be no question of aid for the contras. At the same time, the conservatively minded section of the party is proposing that the $18 million previously allocated to the contras as military aid should be unfrozen. The Republicans are right behind the contras. They believe that the contras must be given $47 million, including $27 million in military aid.

Presumably the representatives of the competing parties in the United States will examine their own internal contradictions for themselves. The only problem is that the U.S. attitude toward Nicaragua affects not only the situation in the region, but also the political climate in the world community. It is becoming increasingly apparent that act-tough methods are not going to resolve this regional conflict. It needs a quest for a peace settlement, and the primary requirement here is goodwill, without which it is unrealistic to expect a positive outcome. In the present situation realism, patience, and respect for the sides, combined with goodwill could be the instrument to extinguish one of the world's hotbeds of tension. In Nicaragua or any other part of the world it is the quest for peaceful solutions that will serve as the criterion for judging what kind of foreign policy course a particular country is conducting and what style of conduct of international affairs it prefers.

International Business Congress Opens in Finland
LD0908164888 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Helsinki August 9 TASS—The official ceremony of the opening of the 15th International Congress of Small Businesses was held in Finlandia Palace today. 1,500 representatives of medium and small firms from more than 40 countries take part in it. Socialist countries—the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary—take part in its work for the first time.

On behalf of the Finnish Government, those present were greeted by Finnish Prime-Minister Harri Holkeri.

The participants in the congress will discuss problems of economic cooperation, new opportunities for economic dialogue with the USSR and other socialist countries, with developing countries, will try to determine the strategy for the development of medium and small firms and joint stock companies in the changing conditions of the world market in the nineties.

United States & Canada

Carlucci's Comments in Moscow Criticized

LD0908222688 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] The British news media reported in detail about the American Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci's visit to the Soviet Union. It's known that the British public learned, above all, that the Pentagon chief immediately went on the offensive on his arrival in the Soviet Union. He actually accused Moscow of pursuing an offensive doctrine rather than a defensive one. Yevgeniy Ivanov comments:

[Ivanov] An offensive is said to be the best type of defense, and Frank Carlucci's opportunity for offensive was not restricted. He had every chance to act and the Soviet media focused on his visit. The Pentagon chief had such an expert audience as the teaching staff of the military academy of the general headquarters. Offensive became possible thanks to the Soviet policy of openness.

The British news media described all this as something natural. If you recall, last year's visit by the British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, was marked by openness, too. And so was Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit. Speeches by these government officials were published in the daily PRAVDA in full, and the prime minister's interview with Soviet observers on television was quite extensive. So, glasnost, as usual, is being taken for granted.

It rained at Saryozek, in Kazakhstan, far from Moscow when the first batch of Soviet missiles was scrapped in line with the INF Treaty. There were not only American military experts who arrived in the Saryozek, in the performance of their official duty, but also public inspectors who came as conscience called them to do. These inspectors were representatives of virtually all antiwar movements in 17 countries, Britain included. Of course, parting with arms requires real trust.

The American defense secretary's remarks expressed mistrust quite explicitly. Mistrust was also apparent in the prime minister's remarks during her visit to Australia. She called for continuing a strong Western military posture in spite of starting changes in the Soviet Union. But the mountains of arms stockpiled since the war appear to be a weighty material factor of mistrust for both sides.

Not everything done in the past was prompted by common sense, something we openly admit today. The Soviet Union has used insufficiently political means of settling complex international and bilateral issues, those concerning relations with the United States and Britain included. We allowed ourselves to be drawn into an arms race. But as friendship is unthinkable without another person, so hostility requires two sides. Frank Carlucci claimed we had superiority in arms. This is true with regard to ground forces. But as far as the air forces and navy are concerned, superiority is on the other side. And what about the United States' naval bases around the Soviet Union? They are anything but defensive in character.

And now let's look back on the past. After 1945 the Pentagon planned atomic strikes on Soviet cities, when we were still working on our bomb. This is a fact. Another fact is the Pentagon's program for the 1984-88 fiscal years, according to which a nuclear war can be won. It is a fact, too, that American nuclear bombers used in Britain soon after 1945 were targetted on the Soviet Union. And even Churchill argued that American nuclear weapons on British soil inevitably turned Britain into a target for retaliation.

The INF Treaty being translated into practice testifies to new political thinking. Results could be still more significant. For instance, if the total elimination of mass destruction weapons were at issue, this would remove the issue of offensive military doctrines once and for all. For the West, this program has proved too fanciful.

Well, we have not profited in Saryozek. Work is under way on a treaty to reduce strategic offensive arms. There is reason to say that progress can be made already this year in the field of mutual reductions in conventional forces and arms. In short, resolve the legacy of the past and resilient stereotypes. There is reason to hope for a more rational future if only we seek to refrain from prejudice.

Carlucci Sees 'Lesser Tension' From Visit

LD0908213488 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] New York August 9 TASS—Speaking in an NBC TV programme today, U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci described his visit to the Soviet Union as one leading to lesser tension between the USSR and the USA.

He said that in the course of the trip the dialogue continued with the Soviet defence minister, which began in Bern last winter. Frank Carlucci said that their conversations touched upon dangerous military actions and to be more exact the search for ways of avoiding them, so that our people should not fire at each other and our planes should not threaten each other.

A programme of exchanges was drawn up and a detailed discussion of military doctrines of the two countries was held in the course of the visit, he said. The trip, Frank Carlucci said, enabled him to know better the Soviet military doctrine and to narrate about the American one. Nevertheless, the defence secretary admitted that between the two countries there were still considerable differences in that sphere.

Speaking of his impressions of Soviet materiel, which he saw in the USSR, Frank Carlucci said he attended exercises of Soviet units which were held with the use of

considerable fire weapons, including T-72 tanks, self-propelled artillery units, assault helicopters and MiG-29 fighter planes. He said all that gave him a very good notion of what are the Soviet Armed Forces in action. The Soviet Union has good materiel which impresses one, he said in conclusion.

Carlucci Says U.S. To Maintain Gulf Presence

LD0908193188 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 9 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci said today in a CBS TV interview that the United States intended to retain its military presence in the Persian Gulf.

"We shall never withdraw completely. We've had ships there since World War Two and we'll always keep a presence. But we will certainly reduce the number of ships that we've had, but that depends on the threat. We have to wait till the threat dies down." If the ceasefire enters into force, there would be no longer the need for escorting ships, he said.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

DPRK Agrees to Preliminary Negotiations

LD0908190088 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Pyongyang August 9 TASS—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea agrees to have preliminary negotiations to make preparations for an interparliamentary conference of the North and South of Korea. The CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY OF KOREA reports that this was stated by chairman of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK Yang Hyong-sop in a letter to speaker of South Korea's National Assembly Kim Chae-sun.

It was earlier reported that the Standing Committee of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly proposed that a joint conference be held of representatives of the parliaments of the two sides to discuss the joint declaration on non-aggression. Reciprocating the initiative, the South Korean side declared in favour of a preliminary meeting.

"Guided by the desire to have an interparliamentary conference as soon as possible, we have taken into consideration the South Korean side's consent in principle to have interparliamentary North-South negotiations and are ready for a meeting to prepare a joint conference with your side", the letter stresses.

The DPRK proposes that the preliminary meeting should discuss only the questions of the venue, date and the procedure for the delegates in crossing the military-demarcation line and also the question of ensuring their safety and provision with amenities. The letter proposes that the preliminary meeting be held in Panmunjom on August 17, to be attended by 3-5 representatives from either side. The conference itself could be held in Pyongyang on August 26, says a letter which was handed over to the South Korean side.

Australian Parliamentarians Visit Moscow

Received by Minister

LD0908095088 Moscow TASS in English 0932 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Chaplin has received today the delegation of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade of Australia's Federal Parliament led by Committee Chairman Gordon Bilney currently visiting Moscow at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

They discussed a broad range of issues concerning the present-day international situation and the Soviet Union's foreign policy, above all in the Asia-Pacific region, and touched upon some aspects of Soviet-Australian relations.

Meeting Held With Demichev

LD0908130888 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Perestroyka in the Soviet Union opens broad opportunities for expanding relations between the USSR and Australia in various spheres. This opinion was expressed today both by the Soviet and Australian sides during a Kremlin meeting between Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a delegation of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade of the Australian Parliament, led by its chairman Gordon Bilney.

"The USSR," pointed out Petr Demichev, "attaches much importance to the development of cooperation with Australia, including the economic sphere. Regrettably, at present the trade exchange is very unfavourable for the Soviet side. Therefore, we are interested in broader and more stable bilateral relations." This can be promoted, for instance, by establishment of joint ventures whose products could be used to meet domestic requirements of the two countries and for export to the world market. Besides, in the past three years Soviet enterprises, thanks to the economic reform, started producing more machines and equipment which are capable of competing with the best world standards and which can find demand in Australia.

Asked by Michael Mackellar, deputy chairman of the Joint Committee, about guarantees of irreversibility of perestroyka, Petr Demichev noted that the widest possible involvement of working people in the processes of

social changes, the development of democracy and openness and implementation of the reform of the political system were a decisive condition for successful continuation of perestroyka.

Australia met with great interest the Soviet foreign policy initiatives set out in the Vladivostok speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said Gordon Bilney during the meeting. In the past few months Australians witnessed practical implementation of these initiatives, for instance in Afghanistan. The Australian parliamentarian gave a high appraisal of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and expressed the hope that the USSR and the USA would go further along the road of cutting strategic and conventional arms and banning chemical weapons.

In conclusion Gordon Bilney noted that members of the delegation had been greatly impressed by the commitment of Soviet people to the ideas of perestroyka and their frankness during talks.

Depart 9 Aug

LD0908220088 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—A delegation of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade of Australia's Federal Parliament, led by the Committee Chairman Gordon Bilney, left the Soviet Union for home today.

The delegation stayed in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Near East & South Asia

Troop Pull-Out Continues in Afghanistan

LD0908104188 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

Five days have left before the end of the first stage of withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This event is, naturally, in the focus of attention of the Afghan public and foreign observers. On Monday some units of the Soviet troops have left Kabul. The units, which pulled out from Qandahar, Helmand and Konduz, are on their way to the border cities of Towraghoudi and Hayraton.

BAKHTAR agency reports on the situation in the areas of Afghanistan, where there are already no Soviet troops. In the border district of Kuzlunar [name as received], Nangarhar Province, Afghan frontier guards wiped out a gang of extremists, who crossed the border from Pakistan's territory. In the course of a preventive operation large quantities of arms, including grenade launchers, mortars and mines were captured. The commander of the group and another three rebels were captured. A detachment of irreconcilable opposition was also routed in Shiveh district, Nangarhar. Near Qandahar, members of the state security bodies uncovered and destroyed 60 rocket projectiles which were prepared for launching against the city. The terrorists committed a fresh crime in Deh-Mazuz [place-name as received] village in Laghman Province. Three children hit the mines planted by the terrorists. Representatives of the security forces, who arrived to the scene, uncovered and defused several more U.S.-made plastic mines.

A report has come on the escape of an Afghan Air Force pilot from bandit captivity. Senior Lieutenant 'Ali Muddad was captured by the rebels in Paktia Province and sent to Miram Shah (Pakistan). For many weeks the officer was languishing in an underground jail. Extremists and Pakistani counter-intelligence officers repeatedly tortured him, trying to make him betray his country. Taking advantage of the carelessness of the prison guards Moddad fled from prison. Now he has returned to his unit.

The stream of refugees returning home is growing. Hundreds of Afghans are returning home from Pakistan and Iran practically every day. More than 300 refugees crossed into Afghanistan through border posts on Monday. The repatriants received material aid from the Afghan authorities and left for their home villages and cities in Qandahar, Helmand and Kabul Provinces.

Situation in Qandahar Noted

LD0908182788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 9 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Journalists' interest in the situation in the Afghan town of Qandahar has recently increased. Our correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando reports from there:

[Shkirando] What has evoked such an interest in this town? The answer is that after the extremists' failure to capture Jalalabad, they are now concentrating their forces around Qandahar. On instructions from Pakistan, extremists are attempting to seize this town at any cost and declare it the capital of a temporary government. Convoys with weapons and ammunition are continuing to arrive in this region from across the border. Qandahar is, without exaggeration, now a frontline town. [Video shows damaged buildings, a market, and street scenes]

[Begin Governor General N. Ulomi recording in vernacular fading into Russian translation] Indeed, several rumors spread by extremists can be heard around our town and the province. This is not surprising. The extremists are being forced in this manner to use any crumb they get from Pakistan and the West. As far as

Qandahar is concerned, our Armed Forces, along with tribal military guards and with the entire population's support, are ready to put up a worthy resistance to the extremists. [end recording]

Official Denies Kabul Reinforced

LD0908182288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 9 Aug 88

[From "The World Today" program; special correspondent Sergey Rybin interview in Kabul with Stepan Florovich Kitsak, deputy commander of the headquarters of the "limited contingent of Soviet troops" in Afghanistan—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Rybin] There have been reports in the Western press that Soviet troops are building a defensive rampart around Kabul and are sending additional forces to Kabul. What can you say about this?

[Kitsak] Not a single additional unit has been brought to Kabul, and no ramparts are being built or will be built. On the contrary, we are handing over everything we have for defending Kabul to the Afghan comrades, the Army, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of State Security.

[Rybin] And how is the further pullout of Soviet troops from the Kabul garrison to proceed?

[Kitsak] The pullout from the Kabul garrison is to proceed according to agreements and the plan endorsed by our government. According to the plan, the Kabul garrison is to be pulled out in the second phase. But you can see that we are pulling out a number of units from Kabul in the first phase, thereby providing one more type of proof that we are observing the Geneva accords. The fabrications by Western imperialists alleging that we are sending more troops is an attempt to justify the violations of the Geneva accords, primarily by Pakistan and its patrons.

Daily Views Life in Kabul

PM0708125788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Special correspondent Yevg. Bay article: "Afghan Reportage": "Kabul Today"]

[Text] Kabul—Within 24 hours of arriving in Kabul you begin to distinguish between artillery fire and the explosions of mines and shells falling on the city. As a rule, the government troops' howitzers fire two or three shells in succession, with a break of one second in between each shot. But when the ground begins to shake and the windows of houses start to rattle following a single hollow explosion, this means that shelling of the city has begun. However, your rapidly acquired knowledge has no practical significance. During the shelling which is now a daily occurrence none of the citizens rush to take shelter: The extremists fire missiles from great distances, indiscriminately, and so you cannot tell in advance in which part of the large city they will fall.

...More than 3 months have passed since the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and more than 2 months since the start of the Soviet troop withdrawal. In 19 of the country's provinces the Afghan Army has found itself in a one-on-one situation with the rebels. In the middle of May the mujahidin promised to take Jalalabad, the second most important city in the east of the country, within a week of the Soviet servicemen's departure from there. But the city is still standing its ground and the situation there is calmer than in the country's southern provinces, from where our units are to withdraw. Members of the rebel groups are hastily quitting the "unpromising" east and rushing to the south and the center of the country, to Kabul, where, according to the "fighters for Islam," it is much easier to earn a living.

The extremists are paid "baksheesh" not for military victories (so far the armed opposition has not been able to take a single district town, let alone a provincial center defended by large garrisons) but for brigandage, for shelling the innocent population with missiles, and for blowing up cars packed with dynamite which are quietly parked at dawn on roadsides adjacent to thickly populated quarters of the city. The types of weapons used have also changed recently—they are still brought into the country through Pakistan, which is a signatory to the Geneva agreements. These weapons include missiles with a considerably greater range—up to 30 km—and modern portable mortars which are easier to bring into the city unseen by the patrols.

Terrorist groups are operating in Kabul Province who belong to various parties incorporated in "the Seven," which is based in Peshawar. We have received reports that approximately another 600 extremists have come here to carry out subversive activity. Outside the city limits a civilian vehicle can be shelled by submachine guns and grenade launchers just a few hundred meters from sentry posts.

In the center of the Afghan capital armored personnel carriers with armed soldiers guard intersections, government buildings, and ministries. In the evenings the quiet street where the republic's council of ministers and foreign ministry are situated is blocked off by military patrols from two sides. Soviet journalists, it is true, are let through without any problem. Access points to the district where Soviet civilian specialists live are also guarded. Vehicles bearing local license plates are stopped and carefully searched.

Early in the morning after more shelling of the city, combat helicopters buzz over Kabul like agitated dragonflies. By the ruined clay walls of their homes with the doors and window frames knocked out, armed with picks, spades, and hammers people shovel aside the debris from the thresholds of their homes.

But with every new shell attack and every car that is blown up with dynamite, more and more anger builds up in people's hearts. You can understand this. No one here knows when the next shell attack will begin—at dawn, in the afternoon, or after dusk—how many new casualties there will be, how many women and children killed, and how many people maimed for life.

Lieutenant General Seyfullah, chief of the Sarandoy (people's militia) in Kabul, gave me a detailed account of how his men assist the civilian population, how they protect students returning from school, how at night they fulfill the functions of an "ambulance service" by taking people to the hospital, and how they distribute the free aid given by the Soviet Union among the citizens.

In the same way as success in the battle for Kabul depends on the unity of the army and the decisiveness of its actions, the fate of the Afghan political process is largely determined by the degree of coordination in the steps taken by the PDPA and other democratic forces.

Since January last year, when the national reconciliation policy was announced in the country, the PDPA has achieved appreciable, indisputable success in democratizing the country's political life. A constitution enshrining the leadership's new course has been adopted. Broad strata of the population have played an active role in the election of parliament. A government has been formed that includes representatives of different parties and nonparty people. In July I witnessed it being given a vote of confidence by the republic's citizens.

At the same time, most of the Afghans I have spoken to regard the present cabinet of ministers as a bridge to an eventual real coalition government which will include representatives of all strata of the Afghan nation, including refugees who return and the armed opposition.

"This is quite a bold step," Hamid Rokh, chief editor of the newspaper HEYWAD, admitted in a conversation with me, "as the authorities are not only inviting so-called 'field commanders' leading combat operations against the Kabul regime to take part in the dialogue; they also envisage 'irreconcilable' parties being represented in the future government."

"We would like the type of coalition government to be decided at a general session of the Afghan jirga involving all forces working for peace," Kh. Rokh continued. "The PDPA, which was the initiator of the national reconciliation policy, cannot be discounted. Most Afghans understand that our party is a large force which cannot be opposed by smaller right-wing opposition parties bogged down in disputes. Without it, any coalition government would be like a car with an empty fuel tank. But in order to play a vanguard role, the party must more actively shed the bureaucratic features of its leadership and become a real fighting political force in Afghan society."

In recent months the PDPA's political role has been clearly apparent in its ability to attract experienced technocrats, mainly nonparty people, to manage the country's economy. One such person is Sayyed 'Amanuddin Amin, who worked in the private sector for 27 years, was manager of a textile firm and a cement factory, an exporter of Astrakhan furs, and a member of the board of a number of the country's biggest banks. In the present government S.A. Amin is deputy prime minister. He is responsible for national trade, finance, and light industry. He is also in charge of coordinating relations between the state and private sectors.

"After the April Revolution serious mistakes were made regarding the private sector," S. Amin said to me. "But this sector accounts for 99 percent of agricultural production, 42 percent of the country's export and import operations, and 52 percent of production in light industry and the food industry. All overland transportation in the country is in the hands of private enterprise. Ten years ago many leaders at that time felt that the state could manage the economy itself. But now the authorities have sharply changed their strategy and worked out new approaches to traders and entrepreneurs."

It was no accident that our conversation began by establishing the relationship between the private sector and the state. This is now one of the most topical subjects. The first national trade conference was held in Kabul in the middle of July and adopted many important decisions on the problems of the country's further economic development. Afghan traders, whom President Najibullah has described as "envoys of peace," have a vested interest in an end to the destructive war. With their considerable economic potential and extensive ties abroad, they can play an important role in the achievement of national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

...Despite enemy encirclement and constant shell attacks, Kabul continues to live a full life, all institutions and banks are working, thousands of stores are open from morning till late in the evening, and market prices are moderate, which in the East is one of the traditional barometers for gauging government stability.

Many people in Afghanistan are of the opinion that the development of the situation depends to a decisive extent on the ability of the Republic's government and army to strengthen their positions as the Soviet troops withdraw.

PRAVDA Profiles Commander in Afghanistan

PM0908133488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[Special correspondent Colonel V. Izgarshev report profiling Lieutenant General B.V. Gromov, Soviet Army commander in Afghanistan: "Army Commander"]

[Excerpts] Kabul and Moscow—"It is now 1537," Gromov said, looking at his watch, "and at 1700 I have orders to call on the chief of the General Staff. What a

schedule. In the evening the children are flying to Moscow. It seems a 1000 years since I saw them. Tomorrow I will not have a minute free. It is the opening of the party conference. What a schedule," he repeated, smiling. "As usual, it is impossible to find the time to meet with friends..."

We spent exactly an hour together at the PRAVDA editorial office, talking to our hearts' content, remembering long-past meetings and mutual friends. Gromov's schedule is indeed tough, not to say cruel. And it is no exaggeration to say that it has been like that since the earliest years of his service as an officer. [passage omitted]

...At the beginning of this year our units took part together with Afghan troops in Operation "Highway" [magistral].

If you look at a map of Afghanistan, it is not hard to see how the border district of Khowst cuts into Pakistani territory, so to speak. Surely that is why, for a number of years, the city of Khowst was basically blockaded by armed rebel formations. This district became the stronghold of the opposition forces, their arsenal. As was known to the Afghan leadership, here were concentrated more than 100 detachments subordinate to Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's grouping. The formations of the internal armed opposition under the command of Jalaluddin numbered some 5,000 bayonets.

The garrison and inhabitants of Khowst were virtually under siege. Communication with the city and aid to the population took place solely by air. A difficult situation involving food arose in the city, and starvation was setting in.

Following the policy of national reconciliation, the Afghan Government put a proposal of talks to Jalaluddin. And talks began. But the opposition ringleaders made use of the 20-day duration of the talks to regroup their forces, further strengthen their positions, and mine the roads.

During those days, many Western newspapers called the Sataw Kandaw Pass—a key point on the road to Khowst—the "impregnable fortress of the fighters for the faith."

Well, that was almost true—the fortifications of Sataw Kandaw were indeed a tough nut to crack. Western specialists built several zones of defensive installations there. A strong air-defense system was set up on the dominating heights—antiaircraft installations were installed and carefully disguised.

Gromov and his staff officers spent many a day over maps and on the spot. The main thing was to avoid unnecessary losses, to keep them to the minimum.

"An airborne assault on the pass!"—that was the decision the Army commander made.

Scarcely had the military transport aircraft dropped the paratroopers in the Sataw Kandaw region when a storm of fire hit them. Antiaircraft machineguns and artillery raged.

The rebels' firing positions were immediately covered by an accurate bombing and strafing strike by Afghan and Soviet aircraft. An artillery attack followed. And the rebels' entire firing network ceased to exist.

Our losses? What happened to the landing force? Nothing happened to them. There were no losses—it was a false landing.

The success of Operation "Highway" was a great personal achievement for the Army commander, who, as the reader knows, was awarded the Gold Star of a Hero of the Soviet Union.

During those days, many of our servicemen and Afghan servicemen distinguished themselves in battle. Senior Lieutenants Yu. Gagarin and S. Tkachev, subordinates of Lieutenant Colonel V. Vostrotin, a Hero of the Soviet Union, together with 37 Guardsmen, repelled 12 attacks in 7 hours of fighting on one of the peaks. After the third attack, a Komsomol meeting was held on the peak. All 39 Guardsmen took part. The resolution was brief: "1. To fight to the last bullet. 2. Not to surrender the peak!" The Guards fulfilled it: The rebels' 12 attacks were not enough. They did not pass...

"What is the main quality in an officer? First—his professionalism, that is, his knowledge of military matters. Second—industriousness. Third—exemplary fearlessness." Gromov sets forth his own requirements for his officers categorically, as if they were formulas. "Fourth—a good relationship with his subordinates, concern for every one of them. Gagarin and Tkachev, like their commanding officer Vostrotin, are real officers. Soldiers will follow men like that through fire and water. They are our Army's strength..."

It is said that the first time—it was on the eve of the commencement of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan—he appeared before foreign journalists at a news conference in Kabul, the auditorium was struck dumb. Obviously nobody expected to see such a young general with the rank of commander. He was slender, handsome, blue-eyed, typically Russian, rather like Yuriy Gagarin. And then, on top of everything else, everyone was captivated by his manner of speaking, by his frank, logical answers to the most searching questions.

July 1. Kremlin Palace of Congresses. One of the party's 5,000 envoys approaches the conference platform—a young Army commander, an "Afghaner." The delegates greet his speech warmly. He realizes that the attention accorded him and the warm reception represent the trust of the party and all the people in him and all his comrades—from the soldier to the general—and represent their instructions—to fulfill with honor and dignity

the lofty duty of internationalist servicemen on the southern neighbor's territory and to safely bring home all the motherland's sons, whose mothers and fathers have entrusted them to his care.

Now that the military columns are moving from southern Afghanistan, from Qandahar, toward our own Kushka, the Army commander again has sleepless nights. He has two children of his own in the USSR. They lost their mother 3 years ago. Do you remember the tragic episode when an aircraft crashed, with the Carpathian Military District Air Force command on board? Natalya Nikolayevna Gromova had a ticket for a scheduled Aeroflot plane at the time, but the Air Force commander invited her to join the special flight...

Now Gromov, like all single fathers, worries day and night about his heirs. But he has more sons than this. Some of them, a considerable proportion, are already at home. And another column is leaving Qandahar... The rest, as the Geneva agreements specify, are preparing for the journey home. By 15 August the limited contingent will be reduced by precisely one-half. The troops are leaving, while friendship and cooperation remain.

...That day, on the eve of the party conference, Boris Vsevolodovich and I talked about what Afghanistan's future will be like when we have returned home. Will peace soon prevail?.. There are many questions. One thing is clear—the situation in the country is complex today, and it will not be any simpler tomorrow.

Much depends on how Pakistan—and the United States, as a guarantor country—observe the Geneva accords. After all, noninterference from outside in Afghan affairs is the guarantee of the successful course of the normalization process.

As for the Afghans themselves, ultimately, as the course of the national reconciliation policy shows, they are sons of a single motherland, fellow tribesmen, and they are willing and able to reach agreement and settle their own problems without guns. A truly patriotic platform of national rebirth and peaceful building has been put forward. This is to the credit of the PDPA, the country's largest and best organized party. In short, despite certain errors and zigzags in the course of the April revolution, progressive development is taking place. And our military presence over nearly 9 years at the request of the people's government has left its mark: The Afghan Army has acquired combat tempering and skills.

Apart from anything else, after our withdrawal, as a good reminder of the "Shuravi" [Soviet] brothers, the country will be left with 84 educational establishments, 25 hospitals, 26 kindergartens, 326 apartment blocks, 35 mosques, 48 wells, 53 bridges... These were repaired, restored, or built from scratch by our soldiers. Also, 6 villages supplied with electricity and 117 km of canals and irrigation channels were built. And another very significant plus—all the military camps, with barracks, housing, apartments, clubs, canteens, stores—in a word, everything that was built for the units of the limited contingent, is being handed over by us to the Afghan side free of charge.

"As far as I'm concerned, I am an optimist..."

That was what Army Commander Gromov said to me then. [passage omitted]

Soviet 'Carnage' in Afghan Village Denied

PM1008081588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 7 Aug 88 p 3

[APN-attributed "Afghan Reportage" by Vladimir Ivanenko: "Facts and Fiction About Kulalgu Village"]

[Text] Western journalism and some politicians have long nurtured a dream of turning Afghanistan into the equivalent of America's Vietnam. G. Howe, head of Britain's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, recently joined this campaign. During a meeting with British parliamentarians, he confirmed British press reports that Soviet servicemen "committed carnage" in the Afghan village of Kulalgu, cold-bloodedly slaughtering its civilian residents, including women and children. These are serious accusations and, in order to thoroughly investigate the matter, I had to ask for assistance from the command of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and the Republic of Afghanistan's Ministry of Internal Affairs. Consequently, three Soviet men who had thought that their Afghan saga was over were briefly brought back from the Soviet Union, while Sarandoy Senior Captain Gol Rahman, commander of an operational battalion stationed in Ghazni, also left his unit and traveled to Kabul. It was he who, on 16 January of this year, intercepted in Kulalgu village a convoy of weapons belonging to the Islamic Society of Afghanistan.

"Reports that a large weapons convoy had halted to spend the night at Kulalgu village reached us at an extremely inconvenient time," the senior captain said. "The regiment to which my battalion belongs had left with its equipment for an operation in Sato-Kandaw. But the opportunity could not be missed: The animals had been unloaded, the cargo was on the ground, and this meant that the insurgents could not save the consignment, one that could have brought death to dozens and even hundreds of Afghans. We asked for assistance from a Soviet unit stationed not too far away. As a matter of fact, all we needed was combat equipment to transport us in time to the convoy's overnight halt before it moved on. The Soviet comrades gave us the equipment and a small reconnaissance subunit to support us. We embarked and then were on our way toward Kulalgu. As we passed near Ramak village, we were joined by a further 15-20 volunteers who were local residents. This village often comes under fire from the insurgents, and it is a matter of honor for every Ramak man to 'knock out a convoy.'

"Nonetheless," Gol Rahman continued, "we did not manage to approach Kulalgu in secret and were instead detected by the enemy. Realizing that a battle was imminent, the village residents quickly abandoned their homes. The bulk of the convoy's guard also left with them. Two of the gangleaders galloped away on their horses and went to ground in the next village. It was later established that one of them was a foreigner. The Soviet comrades remained with the vehicles while we made our way to the village in single file, without opening fire. The insurgents who had stayed behind with the convoy realized that they were doomed and that a battle in the village, if we were to use heavy weapons, could result in civilian casualties. Nonetheless, they opened fire on us with recoilless rifles and grenade launchers. But it was too late. Sarandoy servicemen entered the village from different directions with such speed that the remaining convoy guards could not determine the direction from which the main strike was coming, and they were eliminated in an exchange of gunfire and hand-to-hand combat. Five of them surrendered. None of the village residents came out in the streets, and nobody was harmed."

The story was then picked up by Soviet Army Senior Sergeant Valeriy Gulverdashvili:

"We stayed behind with the vehicles and made sure that the insurgents received no outside help. This region is extremely dangerous and chock full of bandit formations. The Afghans called us on the radio and asked for assistance in destroying an ammunition dump discovered in an abandoned home on the edge of the village. My speciality is being a sapper, and I personally blew up that dump."

"Was there any danger of any village residents being injured in the explosion?" I asked Valeriy.

"That was completely out of the question. First, the house stood far away from the other houses. This is why that particular dump was blown up. Ammunition from two other dumps was moved out and detonated far away from the village. Generally speaking, an Afghan village is nothing like our own villages. It consists of farmyards at some distance from one another that are enclosed by walls which look like those of small fortresses. Second, despite the fact that the residents had left the village even before battle began, Sarandoy servicemen once again went through the homes closest to the dump and asked those who had stayed behind to move further away."

The next question was addressed to Junior Sergeant Shaker Khamidov:

"Shaker, did you also take part in that battle?"

"No. I and the remaining servicemen of the Soviet subunit entered the village only after the battle had ended in order to load the captured weapons on BTR and BMP combat vehicles. Having loaded them, we then picked up the Afghans and made our way back."

Lieutenant Andrey Lubenets, commander of the Soviet subunit, also took part in the conversation.

"Andrey, did you manage to carry away or destroy a lot of weapons and ammunition that day?"

"We took with us two large-caliber machineguns and a large quantity of U.S. M-16 rifles. The Afghans took a recoilless rifle and portable grenade launchers. A total of 800 antitank and 370 antipersonnel mines, 400 shells for recoilless rifles, 800 rounds of mortar ammunition, 1,000 hand grenades, and almost 500 kg of different explosives were blown up. It is not hard to imagine what would have happened if all that had been put to use."

"Tales about Kulalgu village are circulating in the context of alleged violations of human rights by Soviet troops in Afghanistan. What do you think of this?"

"By way of an example, I could tell you how we treated our captives. All five of them were immediately taken to the field kitchen, in other words they ate the same food as our own soldiers. Since all this happened in January, they were issued with greatcoats. Please note that they were kept in the guards hut while our soldiers were in tents. They were ultimately released. The captives declared that they had no compiaints against the Soviet Army, as is confirmed by this document." And Andrey showed me a document written in both Russian and Dari.

The discussion could have ended there. But one would like to investigate the mechanism producing such "sensations." So, a battle was fought and there were explosions. The place where it all occurred is accurately known. All you need is a little imagination, and the village residents, including women and children, were "cold-bloodedly slaughtered." Take matters just a little further, and it can be written that the village was razed. Even "eyewitnesses" can be found, since the manufacturers of sensations are not short of money, and you can sit back and rub your hands. Generally speaking, all you need is the will, and any lie can appear on paper.

Red Cross Official on Afghanistan Prisoners

AU2607193488 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 30, 25 Jul 88 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Jean de Courtin, delegate of the International Red Cross Committee for Asia, by Encho Gospodinov, POGLED foreign political observer: "A Gordian Knot of Problems"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Gospodinov] Jean de Courtin has just returned from his visit to Afghanistan and Pakistan. In his office situated in the famous headquarters of the International

Red Cross Committee, on the no less famous "Peace Boulevard", there is a map on the wall on which the sites of all conflicts in the world are marked, places where people from the Red Cross, mostly Swiss nationals, are quietly working to assist the victims of war. These activities are not only discreet, but sometimes even dangerous for the people who involved in them. The emblem of the Red Cross pinned to their chests is by no means a total guarantee of protection against mines or bullets. There have been cases of Swiss nationals killed in fulfilling their delicate mission. Despite all this, the results of these people's activities are more than impressive. I asked Jean de Courtin: Could you tell us how much progress you have achieved in the question pertaining to Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan?

[Courtin] We are trying our best to free these people. According to data provided by the Soviet authorities, for the time being, 313 prisoners seems to be the correct figure. Nevertheless, the situation is so delicate and intricate in certain places, that negotiations are proceeding very slowly, and I would not like to give too much hope to the prisoners' relatives.

[Gospodinov] The Soviet Red Cross and the Red Crescent have announced that, in all probability, one third of the 313 have been killed or are no longer alive, while some people have managed to get to the United States and other Western countries. Nevertheless, approximately 200 people seem to be alive. Will you save them?

[Courtin] We are trying to do everything within our power. Nevertheless, we ask you not to insist on figures and specific places—this would not be discreet, and could only harm the prisoners. You should not forget, either, that we are taking care of prisoners on both sides of the conflict—of the Soviet soldiers, as well as of the fighters from the Afghan opposition.

[Gospodinov] Do reliable guarantees exist that the aforementioned 200 Soviet prisoners of war are all alive?

[Courtin] I cannot provide any such guarantees. Our opportunities for on-the-spot investigations are not unlimited. The more so, since military operations continue. Soviet soldiers are still in Afghanistan, which means that more people may be taken prisoner. The last news from Kabul says that five Soviet soldiers were killed recently. However, whether they have all been killed, or whether some of them have been taken prisoner, is not yet clear. This is why we are moving between hope and realism. We are doing everything within our power, but the war continues.

[Gospodinov] Did you manage to get in contact with all seven Afghan opposition groups and talk to them about the fate of the Soviet prisoners of war?

[Courtin] Yes, we maintain contact with all opposition groups, despite the fact that this has been a prolonged and painful process. We are now working with the political and military leaders of the aforementioned groups, with the Pakistani authorities, and with the government in Kabul, which allowed some of our people to visit the "Pol-e Charki" prison and to render the necessary assistance to the inmates. We have regular contacts with the Soviet authorities on this question.

[Gospodinov] Many rumors exist about the uncertain location of the Soviet prisoners of war—whether they are located on Afghan or Pakistani territory?

[Courtin] I cannot point out the exact places where they are kept, because otherwise I would jeopardize the negotiations and endanger the prisoners' lives. The only thing I can say is that most Soviet prisoners are kept on Afghan territory.

[Gospodinov] What is their physical and psychological state?

[Courtin] It varies. Please do not insist on more information.

[Gospodinov] Did you manage to hand in letters from some Soviet soldiers to their families?

[Courtin] Yes; some people have already established contact with their parents through us. However, there is still much to do.

[Gospodinov] What exactly do you have in mind?

[Courtin] We are expected to identify all the places where prisoners of war are detained, and this involves all the sides participating in the conflict. Each of them keeps foreign prisoners of war, but thinks of its own people, detained by the other side. Under these difficult circumstances, we are expected to undo the Gordian knot of problems and human destinies. Therefore, let us be compassionate toward the prisoners' mothers and fathers. Let us stop talking and do more work instead.

It is our concern to provide medical assistance to the prisoners and to give them clothes, if they do not have any, to establish contact with their families, and so forth. You can understand that this is a prolonged process. However, the shooting goes on.

[Gospodinov] What happened to the 11 Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan who, with your assistance, were freed a few days ago?

[Courtin] One of them went to the FRG, two remained in Switzerland, and the other eight returned to the Soviet Union. We understand the strong desire of the Soviet authorities to rescue the remaining prisoners of war, and we are not indifferent to their fate. We worked perseveringly, but we are not all-powerful. The distrust between the fighting sides is a serious obstacle to our efforts.

[Gospodinov] Is there any chance of an exchange of prisoners?

[Courtin] This cannot be excluded, but it is not the most efficient method, because it leads to haggling: We will free one of your people for three of our people, and so forth. This is not a humanitarian approach, in our opinion. We feel obliged to help all victims of war.

[Gospodinov] At the beginning of our interview you mentioned that every day new wounded soldiers are arriving at the two hospitals belonging to the International Red Cross Committee in Pakistan. Do you have such hospitals in other countries, such as Afghanistan?

[Courtin] Yes, this hospital will officially open on 15 August 1988. Our hospitals in Pakistan receive daily 40 applications for wounded. We also have workshops for the production of artificial limbs, which unfortunately are not sufficient. This is a very regrettable fact. However, if these crippled people should one day learn to walk, and if their bodies can be cured, who is going to cure their souls?

[Gospodinov] You should tell me that; I am here to ask questions.

[Courtin] Let us hope that all this will end one day. However, I once again repeat: The process of the prisoners' liberation will be difficult and painful.

[Gospodinov] This is no great consolation for their mothers. Nevertheless, if the Afghan opposition should decide to proceed along the path of appeasement, hundreds of young people will remain alive.

Unfortunately, however, shooting goes on in Afghanistan. Despite the fact that my discreet host, taking into consideration his work, of course, did not explain why shooting continues in Afghanistan, we all know the true reasons for this.

Discussion of Prisoners' Plight

LD0608223088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1310 GMT 6 Aug 88

[From the "International Program", presented by political observer Vladimir Tsvetov, with Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; G.A. Bovorik, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee; V.V. Shustov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Scientific Coordination Center; I.A. Rogachev and A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign ministers; V.N. Orel, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee; and political observer A.Ye. Bovin at a meeting held at the Sergo Ordzhonikidze Machine Tool Works in Moscow; date not given—recorded; questions by unidentified workers]

[Excerpts] [Tsvetov] The point of the meeting that was held here, at the Sergo Ordzhonokidze Machine Tool Works, on the initiative of the Soviet Peace Committee, was to gather professional diplomats and one representative of people's diplomacy under one roof. Leaders of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and members of the Bureau and the Presidium of the Soviet Peace Committee came to the workship to take in the meeting. The workers and aktiv of the Peace Committee were interested in many issues concerning international politics. The floor was taken by USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov.

[Vorontsov] I would like to familiarize you with our ministry. The USSR has diplomatic relations with 136 states, we have diplomatic missions in 121 states, as well as missions attached to international organizations such as the United Nations, UNESCO, IAEA, and many others. There are 119 diplomatic missions of other states in Moscow. A diplomatic staff at the center of 2,000 operational-diplomatic staff, as we call them, and a technical staff of 1,500 cover the work at the ministry. In our view, they make a strong detachment, but not a very large one, as there are enough, as you understand, worries and problems deriving from our rather wide circles of our duties.

Our work is collective, since the USSR's foreign policy is the policy of the whole country. It is worked out very much at a collective level. we are, therefore, responsible for our foreign policy and its implementation—and we take pride in having this responsibility—but a policy is worked out at numerous conferences, sessions, and coordination meetings, minor and major meetings of representatives of various ministries and departments, and meetings and conferences at the Central Committee. Various interdepartmental commissions and committees have been set up, in which collective discussion and development of the USSR's foreign policy take place. Sometimes the discussion of these matters ends with a detailed discussion at a Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee too. So, we are implementing a policy which has been eleborated collectively in our country. [passage omitted]

We received a few questions on Afghanistan. I would like therefore to answer these questions right away. A question often arieses as to whether the Soviet Union believes that Pakistan would in general abide by the Geneva accords. Well, in international affairs, how can one avoid having a degree of faith, despite everything, in the signature of a state which pledged to do certain things and not to do many others. What Pakistan must not do is clearly stated in the Geneva accords. In particular they clearly say directly that Pakistan must not hold any events on its territory which would aim at subverting the existing political system of the other country. These pledges relate to both sides: there are the things that Pakistan pledges to do or not to do in relation to Afghanistan, and the things Afghanistan pledges to do or not to do in relation to Pakistan.

Only recently however I had the opportunity to make representations to the Pakistani ambassador about some

sort of strange government—an Afghanistan-in-exile, or something like this—being set up on Pakistani territory. They have no right, according to the accords, to do this.

Many questions arise regarding the fate of our boys who have been taken prisoner and who are at present either in the hands of rebels or on Pakistani territory, also in the hands of rebels. Yes, we are not only posing this question now but we are insistently fighting for the release of our boys. We are holding official talks about this with the International Red Cross, which has received a list of our missing soldiers. Talks on this are being held directly with Pakistan.

When I was in Islamabad I discussed this with President Ziaul Haq personally. And President Ziaul Haq recently confirmed once again what he told me then. He said good words to me. I am a soldier myself, he said. He is a general but he describes himself as a soldier, and I know what it means to be taken prisoner. I will help you therefore to find your soldiers. So far, unfortunately they, the Pakistanis, have found none. The Americans, however, have found some. But they have found them only in order to get a few of our boys across to U.S. territory. We know that they are staying on U.S. territory. We cannot get permission, however, to see them. We do not know where they are. The fate of our boys who found themselves in the United States is not simple either. I think that we will get them returned home.

[Question] Do you think it is right that there was not a single line in the Geneva accords on Afghanistan about our 300 POW's?

[Vorontsov] They are in the hands of rebels, dushmans. The rebel dushmans did not sign the Geneva accords. And they say: Yes, we have POW's but they are in our hands, and we do not intend to get involved in any swap deals, since there are a lot of our own people in a Kabul prison. We are prepared to hold talks only if they are part of them. And in fact such talks could be held.

There was no room whatsoever therefore for the Soviet POW's in the agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

[Question] How do you assess the results of the recent Tehran meeting of members of the USSR and Iranian sides in the light of the situation in Afghanistan?

[Vorontsov] We are holding direct talks with Iranian leaders about their joining the process of the peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem and stopping fattening up the rebels on their territory, and incidentally arming them too, not only fattening them up. They have their own views on Afghanistan. Our talks show this. Their dream is that an Islamic Republic of Afghanistan will also be set up in Afghanistan, in the image and likeness of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Nor do they conceal these plans of theirs. Our talks with them are complex. But we are still in contact and are still holding talks with them. We are trying to convince them that peaceful and tranquil Afghanistan on their border is much better that an unstable military situation. Are there other questions? [reads a question] Could you tell us your view, the view of a professional diplomat, on the role and real possibilities of people's diplomacy at present? I think I had better give the floor to Genrikh Borovik to answer this question. But for my part I will tell you my personal view, albeit as a professional diplomat. This is a very important front of the struggle for peace. We are also happy that our people's diplomacy in the USSR is actively operating too. Let us hope it can be even more active and has more contacts with its collaborators. We must join hands here and act together.

[Borovik] You know if, say, one were to compare the signing by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan of the treaty on the destruction of two classes of nuclear missiles with the summit of a pyramid, then that summit cannot exist without a foundation. And it seems to us that popular diplomacy is fulfilling precisely that role, that of the foundation of the whole of that pyramid. Everything is included: attitudes of people, public opinion expressed through newspapers; included, too, are joint projects which are worked out at, say, U.S.-Soviet conferences. We had such a conference in Washington, representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee and the U.S. Center for Soviet-U.S. Dialogue. Perhaps for the first time this was a conference where people were not elucidating each other's attitudes, they weren't saying: but you are in Afghanistan, but you were in Vietnam, you bombed such and such, but you bombed such and such, and so on and so forth. But a number of people met together—100 Soviets, nearly 100, many of them are taking part today and sitting at the table, and 500 Americans: and for about 5 days almost on a round-the-clock basis they worked out projects for what we are going to be able to do together. [passage omitted]

You know, Mikhail Sergeyevich has said that people's diplomacy nowadays often runs ahead of professional diplomacy. I think that this is of course a very large down-payment and I have to say that it is very difficult now to keep up with our foreign policy, there are so many initiatives there, excellent initiatives at that. But I can say one thing as an example of why, in fact, Mikhail Sergeyevich mentioned this during his meeting with the international public. He suggested to Reagan—given that all the time they are accusing us over human rights issues—he suggested to Reagan let's set up a standing committee, peace and human rights. Reagan avoided this issue, as, indeed, the Americans have still not yet given us the go-ahead yet for the meeting of those 100 soldiers from each side. Our Defense Ministry is willing, it's agreeable, but they're frightened.

[Question] Over the past year or two articles have been appearing in the press about mistakes that have been made in our foreign policy. Have any mistakes or errors

been made, have there been any negative manifestations in our foreign policy at the present stage in history, over the past 2 or 3 years, say, and if so, which ones?

[Shustov] Let me say that the great objective difficulty in replying to that question lies in the fact that our diplomatic work is very closely linked with bilateral relations with other countries and with multilateral relations, and saying now that only yesterday we acted wrongly in that way is likely to harm both our own state interests and the interests of other countries. So please excuse me, but here one has to be careful. For example, say you are a chess-player, all right? There won't be any game if you announce all your plans and intentions in advance to the person sitting across the table from you, or if, to take a simpler example, if you reveal your dominos. But this does not mean that we are not critical about ourselves. That is something that the leadership and the party demand of us. And there are some things that we cannot even name publicly.

I will name things that in my view should have had more attention devoted to them, that should have been dealt with more vigorously, and that would have been of value to us. Perhaps my colleagues and comrades will add to what I say. For many years it has been my lot to deal with disarmament issues and I have taken a look at that sector: Where have our omissions been? We have achieved a very good treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles. We have moved forward on the issue of banning chemical weapons. And so on. I won't drag it out. But I consider that over the past 2 or 3 years more attention should have been devoted to naval forces, to the issue of limiting their activity, for on this question, in this area, the Americans have a great advantage over us.

The strengths are incomparable. And in cases where the imbalance is to their advantage they do not want to discuss the problem. They demand that we discuss the imbalance in central Europe, where, they say, you have more tanks. But in areas where they have more of something they don't want to discuss it. We have now begun activity around this question, but it is still insufficient.

A lot of channels can be used—I'm not going to list them all here—to step up discussion of this question. There is a very complicated problem here in the list of questions prepared by the workers here about relations with developing countries, questions concerning aid, the construction of enterprises in those countries, and so on. And it seems to me—and clearly many of you agree—we have still not sorted ourselves out properly in this sphere. We have made a poor analysis of our failures and the causes that have brought them about. We have directed all our resources, you understand, into the construction of gigantic enterprises in many countries. At the same time we should have used resources for industries that were more visible and necessary, sometimes, for the people, the production of agricultural products, cottage-industry trades, and so on. In other words, things in which the majority of the population in those states are engaged in. Then our aid would be much more effective.

[Question] Have the territorial claims of China upon the Soviet Union been lifted? What exactly is China demanding?

[Rogachev] I'll begin with the 1960's, when relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC began to deteriorate and become aggravated. Then, during the times of greatest aggravation, statements, hints, and half-hints by China made their appearance to the effect that Tsarist Russia had taken large areas of territory from China under unequal treaties, meaning territory in the Soviet Maritime Kray, the Transbaykal area and other places. In total the figure of 1.54 million square kilometers was mentioned at that time. Once again I want to draw your attention to the fact that that was during a time of aggravation of our relations.

The Chinese side did not make such claims officially during any bilateral talks with us. In 1964 the first talks on frontier questions took place between us. They were called consultations at the time. They took place over an 8-month period. In October 1969 full-scale talks began in Beijing between two governmental delegations on frontier questions. These talks were interrupted in 1978.

In July 1986 Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made his famous speech in Vladivostok. This was devoted completely to problems of the Far East, Asia, and the Pacific. It is now known throughout the world as the Vladivostok program. And there, among other things, he said that the Soviet Union would be ready to enter into frontier talks with China and that officially the frontier between us might run along the middle of the main channel of the Amur.

A short time afterwards we received a lively and interested reply from Beijing, saying that the Chinese side is willing to resume such talks. Last February the first round of frontier talks took place in Moscow. Once again we began the count-down. The first round took place in February. The second round took place in Beijing in August of last year. And literally 2 weeks ago we agreed with our Chinese comrades that the third round of talks will be held in Moscow in October this year. I consider that one can be optimistic with regard to frontier issues in our relations with the PRC and to the settlement of these issues.

[Question] There is a question about a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

[Rogachev] Soviet people ask this question because it's impossible to understand why so far there have been no talks at summit level between the Soviet Union and China, two great socialist countries, countries which are neighbors. Now about the position held by the Chinese comrades. Approximately 2 years ago Deng Xiaoping,

the Chinese leader, in a meeting with a U.S. journalist, stated that he, being now of advanced years, no longer traveled abroad, but that he would go to Moscow to meet Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev if the Soviet Union were to exert influence upon Vietnam and persuade it to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea.

So what is our position? Comrade Gorbachev—at least on two occasions, according to my own memory—has explained this publicly as follows: we are ready to hold talks with the Chinese leadership at any time and any place. We are ready to discuss any issues at such a meeting that either of the two countries wishes to bring up, but to do so without any preliminary conditions. Without any preliminary conditions. It seems to me therefore that it is up to the Chinese side to give an answer. I, personally, am convinced that a summit meeting between the Soviet Union and China will take place. When that will be is difficult to say for the present.

[Question] Only a short time remains before the elections in the United States and President Reagan will retire. Who in your view are the likely contenders for the post of U.S. President and what views do these presidents hold with regard to continuing the policy of detente that was launched by our general secretary together with President Ronald Reagan?

[Besmertnykh] For the first time since World War II these elections are taking place in a very special way. For the first time the main issue at the elections is not that of how can we make the struggle against the Soviet Union more tough and more hard-line? This in itself is a very important result of our latest policy both with regard to the United States and in the Soviet Union's international policy as a whole, the policy of glasnost, democratization, innovation, new thinking, and so on.

The two new contenders, therefore, who would like to occupy the seat in the White House, are arguing not about how they are going to show their muscles to the Soviet Union and whether or not it is afraid of these muscles and so on: For the first time they have now started to talk about things that worry the American people in the first place: What are the social programs that they are offering the people, what economic reforms?

And if I am going to give a precise answer to this comrade's question I will say that both of them, both candidates, are in favor of continuing the dialogue at summit level. Dukakis has even said that he considers that the next summit meeting could be held more quickly if he becomes president. A couple of words about Soviet-U.S. space talks. The fact is that at the latest summit meeting in Moscow the question arose for the first time on our initiative of the possibility of studying the issue of scientific expeditions to Mars, joint expeditions, either with the Americans or international ones. The Americans went into a huddle for quite a long time, in no way did they want it, they reflected upon it, and in the end they nevertheless agreed to setting down this understanding, it is mentioned in the joint document. And now talks are to begin soon on the whole space topic and at them we will test the possibility of embarking jointly on projects in this field.

The main thing is that an alternative should be provided for SDI which is being developed by the Americans, a realistic, scientific and technical alternative which would make it possible both for successes in science and technology to be achieved, for money to be saved and at the same time for wealth to be created for the people rather than threats.

[Unidentified speaker] Thank you. The floor is offered to Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin.

[Bovin] On the eve of the conference you mentioned in a number of articles you wrote about forbidden zones in the field of international politics. What are you able to say about this after the completion of the conference and the adoption of the resolutions? Well, in the first place I have to say that the way events are developing is in itself gradually beginning to wash away these forbidden zones. For example, the history of our foreign policy is already a subject of serious scientific analysis. Very many of the old prohibitions have already been lifted here. We are beginning, gradually, to approach the present-day stage in our foreign policy—doing so, it's true, in a very correct and cautious way—analyzing it objectively, the situation in Afghanistan, say, and the story of the withdrawal of the troops, the whole of this epic surrounding the SS-20 missiles: That is how we are beginning to get onto it, somewhat cautiously for the time being, but at least it's a start.

Well, there is indeed a difficulty, that of how we can separate the press from the diplomacy. For we have the following kind of tradition, we've been brought up to it over the years, that everything that's written by Ivanov, Petrov, Bovin—it's all the position of the Kremlin. That's how people see it abroad, and that's how people see it in our own country. And somehow we have to find—in fact, we've now started a series of active talks with the Foreign Ministry.

What do we have to do? Well, somewhere it must be explained in precise terms, if you want to know the position of the Kremlin then read a TASS statement, a government statement, an editorial article, a leading article. And what's written by, say, Bovin or Kobysh or Kondrashev might coincide with the official point of view, or it might not coincide: Make your complaints to the commentator. If we succeed in getting that kind of approach—true, we've already tried, but it's very difficult to break an old tradition: But we will get over the situation somehow. Unfortunately, all of this still exists. But we are all thinking about it and we and our friends the diplomats are thinking about it and we will overcome the situation to ensure that the information is really true and comprehensive.

[Vorontsov] Another question as a small postscript to what has just been said by Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich. Relations between our press and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is not a value expressed in terms of two angles, so to speak, it's a triangle. First of all the press has its say; then the Ministry of Foreign Affairs heaves a sigh, because on the next day the ambassador of that country comes and says: Why has the Soviet Union taken up such a position. And we say for God's sake! It's not the Soviet Union, it's Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich. And he says that's what you're telling me, but all my own newspapers at home have printed that the Soviet Union is criticizing my country in its newspapers. And that's how we begin, of course, to have a very complicated life!

[Bovin] Well, of course, comrades, you're right, we have to talk much, much more about this and I hope that we will do so because we, too, are learning glasnost, we are learning democracy, and such meetings as these are universities not just for you but for us, too. Thank you.

[Unidentified speaker] Comrade Orel has the floor.

[Orel] I have to say that of course we have to accustom people to the fact that we do talk with different voices, that what is said, say, by the Soviet Peace Committee is not the opinion of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Very regretfully, however, throughout the whole of the preceding period the Soviet Peace Committee has not been given any opportunity to speak in its own voice. When we discussed this Soviet-U.S. treaty in the Soviet Peace Committee, questions were asked: Why are we reducing 2.5 times more than the Americans are doing? The experts explained it: You must understand, what we have to have here is not the arithmetic approach but the algebraic approach. Fine. Then they ask: What approach did the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have before this, when they made so many missiles? Was that arithmetic or was it algebra? In that case, of course, it was difficult to give an answer.

Remember how the concept of survival, of the survival of mankind, made its appearance at the beginning of the 1970's. It was instantly declared to be another act of ideological sabotage by imperialism by our official policy. The public antiwar movement said that relying on nuclear weapons has to be rejected unconditionally and absolutely. No, our official diplomacy said that nuclear weapons can be given up only if there is linkage with the nonuse of force. And we—copying the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so to speak, over a long period of time tried to prove this, too. The antiwar movements said that relying on military parity leads us into an impasse. They rejected that. Finally they admitted it.

[Bessmertnykh] It was said that we have now rejected the idea of relying on military-strategic parity and that previously such was apparently the case. That is not quite right, you know. There is a very important question here and it is right that it has been touched upon. It amounts to this. Today we say that we were drawn into an arms race. The question arises: When were we drawn into an arms race?

I have a personal opinion about this. I feel that up until the moment when we achieved military and strategic parity the arms race and the fact that we were drawn into it were absolutely essential, because after the Americans had developed the atomic bomb we had nothing and we had to develop it. If we had not done so, then our fate would have literally been hanging by a thread. We had to develop strategic carriers, that is to say we had to develop intercontinental ballistic missiles, we had to develop heavy strategic bombers with the aid of which we immediately deprived the United States of its invulnerability.

Now the question is different. A very important point arises here. Given that military and strategic parity exists, how can we participate in an arms race? An interesting philosophical and conceptual question. I consider that military and strategic parity gives us not just the feeling that there is a certain guarantee of security, but it gives us the possibility of moving more boldly toward the limitation and reduction of armaments and of urging the other side toward the rejection of this race, which is what we are now doing. Military and strategic parity, therefore, remains a historic achievement of the Soviet Union which still ensures its security.

However, if given this parity we continue to build up weapons, wearing ourselves out—and it has to be said that this race really has worn us out thoroughly and many things of which there are now shortages on the shelves of the shops and so on are to a certain extent missing because we have had to take part in this race—however, if we are going to go on building up in that way and so on when we have this parity, then there will come a high level at which the parity will cease to be a guarantee of security and the whole thing could collapse. Now, therefore, we have to continue immediately to pursue the line aimed at reducing and limiting armaments.

[Unidentified speaker] We have a note which says what does the restructuring of the work of your department amount to?

[Vorontsov] The main thing is conceptual restructuring, the introduction of the new thinking. The new thinking is the main thing for us. The new thinking means taking into account not just one's own interests but taking into account the interests of one's partner in whichever talks are taking place or in bilateral relations, which very often surprises them now. We say it's allright, you too must act in the same way, don't close round your own interests, think about our interests. Then things will go better. We have got greater dynamism in our work, and that, too, is a slogan with us now; together with restructuring and the new thinking let's have dynamism in our work, no standing still in one place, move forward. Although we

have not yet learned how to move forward as far as quality is concerned, too. We are moving forward quickly along the lines of the relevant developments which, as I have said, are being asserted collectively and at a high level, but we still do not have sufficient depth in the introduction of these new initiatives into thinking in the world. It often happens that new ideas are put forward and then are not developed by ourselves to their conclusion. This is a task that lies ahead of us, that of developing things not just for ourselves but of developing things amongst our partners, in talks, in bilateral relations.

Kabul Protests to Pakistani Charge d'Affaires

PM0908144488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Protest Made"]

[Text] Kabul, 8 Aug—Today the Pakistani charge d'affaires in Afghanistan was summoned to the Foreign Ministry, where a protest was delivered to him. As the BAKHTAR agency reports, according to information from the state security organs, on 4 August a Pakistani Air Force plane made a reconnaissance flight over Afghan territory, in the region of Dara Shaltan [as published]. The aircraft then left the Republic's airspace in the region of Sarkani.

The Afghan Government called on the Pakistani authorities to in the future refrain from such irresponsible actions, actions that lead to an increase in tension in relations between the two countries.

Iran Issues Gulf War Cease-Fire Order

LD0908132588 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT
9 Aug 88

[Text] Nicosia August 9 TASS—Hashemi-Rafsanjani, chairman of Iranian parliament and acting commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of Iran, issued an order to the Iranian troops today on the immediate termination of hostilities against Iraqi troops. At the same time, he urged the Army to be in a state of high alert for "repulsing possible aggression", Radio Teheran has reported.

Further on Cease-Fire

PM0808090588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading: "Iran-Iraq: "Light at the End of the Tunnel"]

[Text] Nicosia, 7 Aug—Iran stated today that the UN secretary general can immediately announce a cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front and then immediately embark on the implementation of the other provisions envisaged by UN Security Council Resolution 598. The official statement, broadcast by Tehran Radio, notes that Iran is prepared to hold direct talks with Iraq under the UN secretary general's auspices.

As the IRNA agency reported, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, stated in Tehran that the Islamic Republic of Iran has nothing against direct talks with Iraq and is earnestly seeking an end to the war and the establishment of peace in the region.

Daily Urges Immediate End to Gulf War

PM0808092588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Pavel Demchenko under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Time to Stop"]

[Text] The Iran-Iraq conflict is inexorably approaching its 8th anniversary. In September 1980, when it flared up, scarcely anyone supposed that the skirmish between the two neighboring countries would turn into one of the bloodiest wars of the 20th century and would be so protracted. But history decreed just that. And today we should very much like the latest anniversary not to come, we should like the peoples of Iraq and Iran to breathe the air of peace as soon as possible.

The prerequisites for this, it seems to me, have all been there since Tehran agreed last month with the plan for ending the conflict elaborated by the UN Security Council. Baghdad had approved it a year ago. But embarking on the implementation of this plan even in the new situation has proved no simple matter, although UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has undertaken it. It has emerged that the warring sides adhere to different concepts for attaining a settlement and direct contacts have not yet been successfully established even between their foreign ministers.

Iran has recently been insisting on an immediate cease-fire and is expressing the readiness to embark on talks only later, "when necessary." Iraqi spokesmen believe that direct contacts for elaborating the main aspects of a settlement should precede a ceasefire. They motivate their position as follows: Iran is so far interested only in ending hostilities but by no means in attaining an all-encompassing peace. They express the fear that the conflagration of war could flare up again in the future.

I shall not try to investigate the sides' positions or the weight of their arguments. I shall say something else: Every war, in addition to its political and diplomatic aspects, also has human, humanitarian aspects. Any day of fighting is stained with blood. And even now, while diplomats are arguing, military operations are continuing and the list of tragedies, losses, and destruction is growing. For instance, take the report for yesterday alone. Iraqi aircraft delivered rocket and bomb strikes against a number of oil establishments behind the lines

and against Iranian troop positions at the front. Iranian launches attacked a Norwegian supertanker in the Persian Gulf. New reports came in of the use of chemical weapons, of which civilians are the main victims, in the conflict. Dozens of warships of the United States and other NATO countries cruise the Gulf with uncovered guns. No one can give firm guarantees that the tragedy of the Iranian passenger airliner shot down by a U.S. missile will be the last.

Having read these reports you cannot help saying: It is time to stop! The conflict long ago entered a complete impasse, and blood is being shed in vain.

People believe that diplomacy is the art of the possible. I should like to believe that Perez de Cuellar's efforts will be crowned with success this time. He has already received a report from military experts who have traveled to the fighting zone, and he meets regularly with the Iranian and Iraqi foreign ministers who to all appearances, despite their differences, have absolutely no intention of slamming the door and thwarting the peace process. This instills optimism and the hope that an acceptable compromise, the search for which is now under way, will be found, and that the thunder of the cannonade on the Iran-Iraq front will soon be silent forever.

Saddam Husayn, UN Chief Cited

PM0808090188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS reports under the general heading: "Iran-Iraq: Light at the End of the Tunnel?"]

[Text] Baghdad, 7 Aug—Iraq is ready for a cease-fire in the war with Iran before direct talks begin if Teheran officially states that afterwards it will immediately come to the table for direct talks to discuss ways of implementing the remaining points of UN Security Council Resolution 598.

This was said by President Saddam Husayn of Iraq in a statement on Baghdad Television Saturday evening. The Iraqi leader stressed that immediately after the cease-fire his country must be allowed to use the Shatt al-'Arab River and, in accordance with international laws, the waters of the Persian Gulf.

If Iran officially agrees to these proposals, S. Husayn went on to say, Iraq is ready for the stationing of international forces between the Iraqi and Iranian Armies. After giving an assurance that his country extends the hand of friendship and peace to the Iranian people, he warned that if Iran rejects direct negotiations it alone will bear the responsibility for further bloodshed and for refusing peace with dignity.

New York, 7 Aug —UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar stated to journalists on Saturday that Iraq has accepted his plan for achieving a settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict. As a first step it envisages the announcement of a cease-fire and then the beginning of direct talks between Iran and Iraq with the assistance of the UN secretary general.

Perez de Cuellar noted that Iraq's decision is a very important one on the path to a peaceful solution of the problem of settling the Iran-Iraq conflict. He announced that an answer is now expected from the Iranian side to his proposals.

Replying to a journalist's question about the actual day of the cease-fire, Perez de Cuellar stressed that this will require considerable work on the part of UN military specialists and additional consultations with Security Council members and the sides participating in the conflict. He expressed the hope that he will be able to announce a ceasefire date at the beginning of the week.

'Ismat Kittani, Iraqi permanent representative to the United Nations, stated that the forthcoming direct talks must begin straight after the cease-fire at a level not lower than that of foreign ministers.

As Iranian representative Mohammad Javad Zarif noted when speaking on CNN television, Iran is ready to hold direct talks immediately after the cease-fire begins.

Commentaries View Causes of Gulf Cease-Fire

Kornilov Notes Peace Process

PM0908122588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Aug 88 p 3

[Political observer Yuriy Kornilov article: "View of Events": "Iran-Iraq: An End to the War?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Looking over the past and analyzing the origins and development of the Iran-Iraq conflict, today it can be asserted that this conflict has become a kind of a mirror accurately reflecting two different or rather diametrically opposite approaches to the problem of the planet's "hot spots." On the one hand, we have the active and principled line pursued by the USSR, by our friends and allies, and by many, many other peace-loving states, a line of extinguishing the conflagration by peaceful means and, by displaying self-possession and restraint, making full use of the United Nations' prestige and the potential inherent in Security Council Resolution 598 which contains the demand for a cease-fire, the cessation of all military operations on land, at sea, and in the air, and the immediate withdrawal of troops behind internationally recognized borders. On the other hand, we have the line pursued by the United States which, as was to be expected, took advantage of the conflict as a pretext to whip up tension and consolidate its military-strategic positions in the region. Washington has made all sort of attempts to ostracize and "punish" Iran: It has concentrated major naval forces in the Persian Gulf (27 warships at present) and, according to observers and many press organs, a long

time ago went far beyond its initially announced objective of ensuring freedom of navigation and protecting Kuwaiti tankers sailing under the U.S. flag. The naval forces of the United States and its NATO allies have become real detonators of tension in the Gulf.

Our country has emphasized, on many occasions and also at the highest level, that the great powers and the permanent members of the UN Security Council bear great responsibility for ensuring that a situation which could lead to a major conflagration does not develop in the Persian Gulf. Of course, we cannot condone the practice of combatants attacking tankers belonging to third countries which are totally uninvolved in the conflict; of course, the freedom and safety of navigation in the Gulf must be ensured—but who has given any power the right to circumvent the United Nations and to arbitrarily proclaim itself some sort of "guardian of order," "protector," and "defender" of an entire region? Such a task can be resolved only on a collective basis, through joint efforts by members of the world community. One of the ways to resolve it would be the creation of a UN naval force. Washington, however, does not heed sensible arguments and pursues its line of whipping up tension. The missiles fired by the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes," which shot down an Iranian civilian airliner 3 July and caused the deaths of almost 300 totally innocent people, were proof of the tragedy which can be caused—and was actually caused—by such a line in a region where the situation is already strained to the limit. The mighty wave of indignation and anger which swept around the world in the wake of this tragedy offered tangible proof of the international public's assessment of U.S. actions and policy.

It would be premature to say that a sensible and realistic principle, corresponding with the interests of peace, now fully and totally dominates the approach to the problem of regional conflicts. This is unfortunately not so, and tangible proof of this can be seen in the fact that Washington, which is verbally advocating the earliest possible political settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, is in reality and in many respects still pursuing its old course, using Department of State spokesmen to proclaim that it will continue to "play a strong hand in the Persian Gulf." And what about the combatants themselves? The call for "war until victory," dictated by fanaticism and intolerance, can still be heard from time to time from the conflict area. UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar declared that the report by a mission of experts will be a key factor for setting a date for a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq armed conflict. The military experts' recommendations are due to be discussed with Security Council members, with representatives from Iran and Iraq, and also with countries which have expressed readiness to supply observers to monitor compliance with the cease-fire agreement.

A few days ago the UN secretary general held consultations with Security Council members in the course of which they discussed ways of settling the Iran-Iraq conflict and the situation prevailing at the talks he is holding in New York with representatives from Iran and Iraq. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the UN secretary general has drafted compromise proposals for settling the conflict. And people in the streets of Baghdad and Tehran are expressing increasingly loud and frequent hopes for an end to the bloodshed. The long-awaited peace is perhaps not all that far off. But in order to bring it about as early as possible it is necessary to double and treble the peacemaking efforts by the United Nations. It is the duty of peace-loving states to support these efforts by all possible means.

Kornilov Praises Truce

LD0908154288 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar declared in the United Nations Security Council that August 20 will be the day of the Iran-Iraq ceasefire. This news was received with profound satisfaction all over the world. The Iran-Iraq conflict lasted for eight years and took the toll of over one million lives. 2.5 million people were wounded. The material damage caused by that war ran into many billions dollars. The world public expresses a firm hope that this blood-stained page of human history has been turned.

Commenting on the Iran-Iraq conflict, the British DAILY TELEGRAPH writes that the war is ending in the situation when none of the sides emerged victorious. From the military viewpoint this is obviously so. But still one would like to comment on the situation in a different way: Mutual ceasefire is real victory. It is the victory of the peoples of the two countries, the victory of common sense and reason, the victory for peace. The concepts and principles recorded in the United Nations Charter which, as is well known, have played the role of extreme importance in putting an end to the bloodshed have also prevailed.

The Soviet Union, proceeding from the interests of preserving peace in the region and in the whole world declared from the outset in favour of the solution of disputed problems between Iran and Iraq through talks, without outside interference. Life itself, the course of events confirmed the correctness and realism of the active and consistent life of the USSR, of our friends and allies there, of many other peaceful states aimed at extinguishing the flame by political means, so that, showing restraint, to fully bring into play the United Nations authority, and use the potential inherent in the Security Council's Resolution 598.

It will not be amiss to say definitely again that what the interests of international security require is not sabre-rattling, not the banking of strength. The member-countries of the international community with the

United Nations participation and under its auspices should be jointly looking for and finding the ways for peaceful settlement of the conflict situation. Such an approach justified itself in this conflict. It yielded definite results also in the course of efforts aimed at the elimination of a number of other "troubled areas". The documents of the "Geneva package" that opened the road to the establishment of peace in Afghanistan have been signed. The light has appeared at the end of the tunnel as regards the settlement of the situation in southern Africa. Observer note that the meeting concluded recently in Bogor, Indonesia, makes it possible to take a step toward a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The talks on the Cyprus problem are to be started under the United Nations auspices in New York in August.

These facts have something in common: Taken together, they show that new approaches, new political thinking are gaining the ground, if slowly and with difficulty.

It will not be amiss to recall that though in Washington's political jargon such conflicts are described as "low-intensity warfare", nearly 17 million people were killed in the course of these conflicts since the Second World War. We in Moscow firmly believe that the nations have enough responsibility, political will and resolve to put an end to all regional conflicts in a few years. This is the aim worth working for.

Bovin on Iranian Peace Moves

PM0908155088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 31, 31 Jul 88 p 3

[Aleksandr Bovin article: "There Is No Other Way Out"]

[Text] Tehran's official recognition of the UN Security Council Resolution No 598, announced by Iran's united military command on July 18, took everyone by surprise. According to 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, acting commander-in-chief and chairman of the Majlis, the decision had been made by Aya'ollah Khomeyni himself. A bit later, Iran's compliance with Resolution 598 was officially confirmed by Iranian President Seyyid 'Ali Khamene'i in his message to the UN Secretary-General.

Many papers across the world quoted Khomeyni as saying that agreeing to a cease-fire was harder than taking poison.

In this case, however, it seems to be a dose of poison that's saving life rather than taking it. It's a pity, though, that it has taken Tehran twelve months (Resolution 598 was adopted on July 20, 1987) to realize this. It's also a pity it has taken eight years of fighting, the slaughtering of nearly one million people, and hundreds of billions (whether reals or dinars is immaterial) to admit that the war has come to an impasse.

Just what happened those eight years ago? What started one of the most senseless and cruel wars of the century? I see it like this. Coming to power, Ayatollah Khomeni began vigorously appealing to Iraq's Shi'ites to depose the Ba'th government, Saddam Husayn's regime, and to set up an Islamic republic of Iraq modelled after Iran.

In this situation, Baghdad obviously decided that a classic "lightning war" was the only Khomeyni reliable way to put out of action. The reasoning probably went like this: the old army of the shah had been substantially weakened by the revolution, and a new army had yet to be created. This gave hope for a quick victory. Along with eliminating the danger of Shi'ite expansionism, Baghdad planned to change the border line imposed by the Shah in the Shatt al-'Arab region.

But Baghdad's strategy failed. The lightning war didn't quite work out. Bani-Sadr, the then president and commander-in-chief, succeeded in putting together a rather efficient army in a short amount of time, and the Iraqi troops that had invaded a number of places inside Iran were stopped. After several years of positional war, Iran succeeded in forcing the enemy back behind its own border and doing some of the fighting on Iraq's territory.

By all appearances, neither the Iraqi nor Iranian generals came up with any masterpieces of military art. Throughout the war Iraq remained technically better equipped, but it could not really put this advantage to use. Iran relied on its edge in personnel, on the "fighting spirit" of its men imbued with the ideas of Persian patriotism, multiplied by Shi'ite fanaticism. Hence the "living waves" tactic—wearing down the Iraqi position with the blood of hundreds of thousands of casualties.

The sitation along the front started to change in April, when the Iraqi troops defeated the Iranians in a number of spots along the front, forcing them out of Iraq.

Attempts to end the bloody carousel were repeatedly made by the UN, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Islamic Conference, the League of Arab States and the Socialist International, among many other organizations, movements, parties and countries. All attempts ran counter to Tehran's irreconcilable stand. "As long as Saddam sits in Baghdad we shall fight," was about what Iran's main position amounted to.

The world press is full of all sorts of guesses as to what made Tehran change its position. Here are some of them:

Iran is war-weary; the economy is stagnant; the regime is losing public support.

The policy of "war-until-victory" has almost completely alienated Iran from the rest of the world.

Moderate, compromise-inclined circles have gained political influence in Tehran.

Iraq's successful series of counterblows, combined with the negative consequences for Iran of a "war of cities", a "tanker war", have reduced the Iranian Army's efficiency.

Whatever the reason, Iran has decided that it is senseless to continue the war. Let us hope that both sides have sufficient will and common sense to put an end to the hostilities and talk peace.

There is no other way out. Neither one can win the war, but both can win peace.

Daily Views Reasons for Truce

PM0908143788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[S. Volovets article: "Iran-Iraq: Last Barrier to Talks Overcome"]

[Text] It is possible that when readers open this page of the newspaper, the decision on a date for a cease-fire in the 8-year old Iran-Iraq War will already have been made. After Iran's acceptance of Security Council Resolution 598 and the start of talks between the two countries' foreign ministers and UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar, hope has emerged of settling the conflict, although initially it seemed that the talks would take a considerable amount of time.

Above all, Iran initially refused to agree to direct talks, preferring contacts through the mediation of the UN secretary general. A different approach to the aim of the talks was also immediately apparent. Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati hinted from the outset that he intended to strictly adhere to the letter of Resolution 598. This requires a cease-fire and the cessation of all military operations, together with the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces to internationally recognized borders. Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz immediately made his country's position clear upon his arrival in New York. Its essence is to discuss all the conditions for a settlement and to resolve all territorial disputes before a cease-fire. Clearly, this is best suited by direct talks.

Nonetheless, it was announced Sunday that Iran had agreed to direct talks under the auspices of the UN secretary general, who would determine the time, venue, and level of the talks. Iraq too immediately confirmed its consent to this procedure. In Perez de Cuellar's words, it would take around 2 weeks to prepare for a cease-fire.

Thus, both sides have shown moderation and political wisdom in taking steps to meet each other halfway. Foreign specialists add another two facts to these fine qualities. Iraq is currently being strongly pressured by all the Arab countries (although not only by them) to end the conflict as soon as possible, even if this means foregoing some procedural or current political advantages. Countries close to the Persian Gulf are also bearing the financial burden of aid to Iraq and are suffering from the disruption of shipping in the Gulf; the sparks of the military conflagration have finally reached here too. They all realize that during the war, it has for many years been almost impossible to effectively coordinate the pan-Arab policy of opposition to Israel's annexationist actions.

Iran's position has been more influenced by internal factors. The country is experiencing a major depletion of all its resources, as well as growing political isolation in the world. There has been nothing but bad news from the front since the spring. Iraq has succeeded in driving Iranian forces from its territory and has undertaken several successful offensive operations. The prospect of an interminably protracted war with dubious chances of military success had begun to seriously concern many people in the Iranian leadership. That is why the first round of contacts in New York led to a definite success sooner than many had supposed.

Our newspaper has written about the—at first sight—strange situation whereby initial contacts in the quest for peace have been accompanied by an intensification of hostilities at the front. In the last few days the intensity of the clashes has diminished, but they still continue. Bulletins talk about artillery duels along the frontlines and clashes between warships. The greatest danger to a settlement is now posed precisely by attempts, before a cease-fire is in place, to make a final effort to win something that could be presented to the public as a major military success. Furthermore, exchanges of prisoners of war is to be one condition of a settlement. And, according to certain estimates, there are more than twice as many Iraqi POW's in Iran as there are Iranian POW's in Iraq. Therefore, attempts to "even the score" on the eve of the talks are possible. This, of course, threatens to prolong the conflict. That is why everyone must do everything to ensure that the cease-fire timetable—which we may learn in the next few hours—is as short as possible.

Pogodin Examines Cease-Fire

NC0908122888 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1800 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] The principles of the agreement between Iran and Iraq on direct bilateral talks after the announcement of a cease-fire is an important event that should pave the way toward ending the 8 years of bloodshed and toward solving an extremely dangerous regional conflict. This is the view expressed by practically all the mass media. Our commentator Aleksandr Pogodin writes on this:

One cannot disagree with this assessment. However, I wish to recall that only a couple of days ago the same observers very confidently stated that the consultations by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar were doomed to fail and that the end of the Iran-Iraq war could not be seen.

It should be noted that there was a specific reason for the pessimistic forecasts. The conflicting stands of the belligerent countries seemed irreconcilable and the war operations were extremely intensive during the past few weeks. Even facts on the use of chemical weapons were stated. Then has a miracle taken place? No, a process began that should have begun. In the past, too, I have expressed my view that halting the wheel of the war, the speed of which has accelerated, is an extremely difficult task and that patience and effort are necessary for the sake of ensuring peace in the region.

In our opinion, one can now say that these very elements became the determining factors in the fundamental change in the situation. It appeared that both in Baghdad and in Tehran a review of military and political priorities was taking place.

The preservation of realism and a sense of responsibility should prevail over irreconcilability, suspicion, and hatred. I repeat that this is an extremely complicated process, but completely real, as proven by recent events.

Meanwhile, in my opinion, independent optimism should not turn into unlimited enthusiasm. As can be seen from the official statements issued in Tehran and Baghdad, there are many strong contradictions and contrasts in the stands of the two sides. For this reason, (?assisting) the efforts of the UN Security Council, and primarily of its permanent members, in the implementation of Resolution 598 which was issued last year and which determined the framework for the solution of the issues pertaining to the Iran-Iraq war gains special importance.

Yesterday, after the UN secretary general's consultations, it was announced that all the members of the Security Council support his peace-seeking efforts.

Aleksandr Pogodin writes in conclusion: We should wait, with hope and patience, for the process of events.

Council of Ministers Condolences to India

LD0908120288 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—The USSR Council of Ministers sent a telegram to Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India, expressing profound condolences over the loss of many human lives caused by the capsizing of a ferry on the Ganges River in Bihar state. The telegram expresses sincere sympathy with the bereaved families and those suffered.

Israel Urged To Show Readiness for 'Just Peace'

TA0608121088 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1630 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Israeli consular delegation is currently working in Moscow. Aleksandr Bovin, the well-known political commentator, has recently talked about it on television. The delegation has also elicited a fair amount of interest among the Soviet public at large. It should be noted in this context that in our country there are some adamant opponents to the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel. There is even a group that announced its opposition in principle to holding any contacts whatsoever with Israel. Yet these are marginal elements whose impact on public opinion is limited. The majority of the Soviet people believe that the absence of normal relations with Israel is abnormal. At the same time, we also regard as abnormal Israel's relations with its neighbors. When Israel shows real readiness to reach a just peace in the Middle East, its ties with the Soviet Union will then immediately improve as well, a move which the Soviet public will welcome.

Libyan Frigate Arrives in Odessa 8 Aug

LD0808203988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1307 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Odessa, 8 Aug (TASS)—The Libyan Navy's "Al-Hani" frigate arrived here today on an official visit of friendship. Captain 2d Rank Faraj 'Abd al-Salam is commander of the frigate.

The commander paid visits to the executive committee of the town soviet; to Lieutenant General Sergey Surodeyev, commander of the Odessa garrison; and to Captain 1st Rank V. Zvershanovskiy, Odessa's senior naval officer. Soviet officials paid a reciprocal visit to the Libyan warship.

Brutents Leaves for Yemen Arab Republic

LD0908180288 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 (TASS)—Karen Brutents, CPSU representative, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee, left today for the Yemen Arab Republic for a visit at the invitation of the leadership of the General People's Congress.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Further Reportage on Quadripartite Talks

Cuba Refutes Withdrawal Schedule

LD0908162088 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Havana August 9 TASS—Cuba has refuted the assertions that there is allegedly a time schedule for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and that this question was the main one during the four-sided negotiations on settlement of the situation in the south of Africa.

Alcibiades Hidalgo, an official representative of the Cuban delegation to the negotiations, has accused the mass media of the Republic of South Africa of using inaccurate terminology. In the joint declaration on the

results of the four-sided negotiations in Geneva, he underlined, it is clearly said that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola would be done on the basis of the bilateral agreement between Cuba and Angola. The withdrawal time schedule is to be submitted not later than September 1. By now there is no agreed upon date, said Alcibiades Hidalgo.

The Cuban representative firmly turned down the assertions that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is the most important of 14 principles of the document signed at the New York round of the negotiations. He pointed to the inadmissibility of attempts to lend priority to that or other provisions of the treaty.

Paper Views Talks

PM0908112988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy dispatch under the rubric "We Supply the Details": "Talks Will Continue"]

[Text] Geneva—The sessions at the quadripartite talks between Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States on a settlement of the situation in southwest Africa held here behind closed doors have been extended three times.

A news conference for journalists to assess the results of the talks has been postponed until a later date just as many times. It has not materialized, however. The brief text of the final communique conveyed to journalists Friday evening said that the round of talks which has now come to a close in Geneva was "positive and productive" and that the talks will continue.

So any hopes of reaching a cease-fire agreement in Geneva and working out other constructive measures leading to a political settlement of the situation in southwest Africa have yet to be justified. So what exactly has happened at the talks? As we have already said, they are closed talks but individual statements made by the participants—particularly the information "leak" permitted by the RSA on the course of the talks—make it possible to draw quite definite conclusions. At the very beginning of the current round, in breach of the agreement regarding the confidential nature of the talks, the RSA unilaterally supplied the press with contradictory information on its own position in a calculated attempt to produce an effect. On the one hand, Pretoria stressed that there is still a long way to go before the participants in the Geneva talks can draw up concrete agreements. On the other hand, the South African delegation has proposed a cease-fire in August this year, linking this condition to the demand that Cuban troops rapidly withdraw from Angola. At the same time, it has promised to withdraw RSA troops from Angolan and Namibian territory. Assessing this proposal, the Swiss newspaper LA TRIBUNE DE GENEVE emphasized that, while loudly promising to guarantee Namibian independence and even setting a date for this event, in reality the RSA has gone no further than these purely propaganda theses, which are not backed up by real, practical steps. There are no guarantees that Pretoria really intends to observe its promises, which it has not kept so far, LA TRIBUNE DE GENEVE noted.

In the opinion of the Swiss newspaper, Pretoria is pursuing purely tactical aims. In particular, knowing that the proposal is unacceptable, the RSA could drag things out and wait for the results of the U.S. presidential elections. According to LA TRIBUNE DE GENEVE, in the event of Dukakis coming out on top in the battle for the Presidency, Pretoria hopes to secure firmer support from the new U.S. Administration for its policy in southern Africa, including Angola. This kind of tactic, LA TRIBUNE DE GENEVE observed, cannot fail to intensify quite justified doubts on the part of Luanda and Havana regarding the RSA proposals.

Despite these and other doubts and the difficult progress of the talks, all the participants intend, nevertheless, to continue their joint quest for a solution to the crisis in southwest Africa that poses a threat to peace. The attempt to find a formula of political compromise acceptable to all the sides involved will continue. In line with the accord reached by the participants in the quadripartite talks, the next round will take place the week after 22 August.

CPSU Central Committee Sends Greetings to Mugabe

PM0908145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings to Zimbabwean President Mugabe; date not given]

[Text] To Comrade Robert G. Mugabe, president and first secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Popular Front [ZANU-PF].

Dear Comrade Mugabe!

The CPSU Central Committee sends you, the Central Committee, and all activists of ZANU-PF cordial congratulations on the 25th anniversary of your party's foundation.

During the difficult years of colonial-racist domination, ZANU-PF launched the struggle for independence and, acting in alliance with other patriotic forces, led the Zimbabwean people to victory.

After becoming the ruling party, ZANU-PF formulated an independent concept of the country's development in which the orientation toward socialism is combined with a rigorous consideration of Zimbabwe's historical, social, and national characteristics. You are building a new, democratic, and nonracial society and have already achieved considerable success on this path.

Today the Republic of Zimbabwe is a respected member of the world community and chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, which is one of the most prestigious and influential political forces of our time. Your Frontline State's contribution to the cause of struggle for the final eradication of colonialism, racism, and apartheid on the African Continent is universally acknowledged.

Soviet Communists rate highly the relations of friendship and cooperation formed between our parties and countries and note with satisfaction the community of approaches of the CPSU and ZANU-PF to such fundamental general human problems as the prevention of nuclear catastrophe and the salvation of modern civilization, the elimination of underdevelopment, and the creation of an all-embracing system of international security.

We wish you new success in your noble activity for the good of the Zimbabwean people and peace throughout the world.

CPSU Central Committee

Tanzanian Party Delegation Visits 3-9 Aug

LD0908170488 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—In accordance with the plan of the links between the CPSU and the Revolutionary Party (CCM) of Tanzania, a delegation of high-ranking officials of the party visited the USSR on August 3 through 9. They familiarized themselves with the work of CPSU auditing bodies.

The Tanzanian comrades were received by Ivan Kapitonov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, and had a converstion at the Party Control Commission at the Moscow Party Commission.

The CCM delegation visited Belorussia where it studied the experience of the work of party organizations and auditing bodies of the republic.

Party, State Delegation Departs for Congo

LD1008100188 Moscow TASS in English 0935 GMT 10 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 10 TASS—A Soviet party and state delegation left Moscow for the People's Republic of the Congo today to attend the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Congolese revolution.

The delegation is headed by Georgiy Tarazevich, vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

East Europe

Polish Spokesman Comments on Gulf Cease-Fire

LD0908155288 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw August 9 TASS—Poland has received with satisfaction the Iran-Iraq ceasefire decision and the forthcoming beginning of negotiations for a peace settlement of the conflict in the Persian Gulf area. This has been stated at a press conference today by Jerzy Urban, a press representative of the Government of the Polish People's Republic. Poland is ready to make a vigorous contribution to the peace process in the region, specifically to send its military observers to promote the peace settlement.

CPSU, MSZMP Institutes' Agreement Signed

PM1008102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS reports under general heading: "Agreement Signed"]

[Text] Budapest, 5 Aug—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, received G.L. Smirnov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and chairman of the board of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society, here today.

During the talk, which took place in a warm atmosphere, the Hungarian leader stressed that scholars, including specialists working in CPSU and MSZMP scientific institutes, can do a lot to create an authentic picture of the historical past and the present of Soviet-Hungarian relations. K. Grosz wished the activists of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society further successes in expanding contacts between the two peoples.

Budapest, 5 Aug—An agreement was signed here yesterday on cooperation between the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the MSZMP Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences, and the MSZMP Central Committee Party History Institute. The document provides for the further development of joint research into topical questions of the building of socialism, the workers movement, and the history of relations between the CPSU and the MSZMP. On the basis of the agreement the Hungarian scientific workers will also be able to study documents connected with the life of Hungarian political emigres in the Soviet Union and their activity in the Communist International.

The agreement was signed by G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, G. Acsel, general director of the MSZMP Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences, and S. Balogh, director of the MSZMP Central Committee Party History Institute.

Bulgaria's Zhivkov Receives Dobrynin

LD0908210888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Sofia, 9 Aug (TASS)—Todor Zhivkov, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, today received Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is on a short vacation there.

Todor Zhivkov acquainted his guest with the activity of the Bulgarian party organs, Communists, and working people to implement the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the July (1987) BCP Central Committee Plenum, which put forward the concept of the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria. He noted the all-embracing nature of the tasks which are being resolved in all spheres of the restructuring of public life in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

A.F. Dobrynin spoke about the practical efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet people to implement the tasks set out at the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum on deepening the restructuring process and renewing Soviet society.

During the conversation, sincere satisfaction was expressed with the two countries' fundamental unity of views and the similarity of their main aims, tasks, and directions in the sphere of restructuring and with their fruitful and constructive cooperation in the interests of the cause of socialism and peace.

They discussed topical questions of the contemporary international situation, the international communist and working-class movement, and ways and forms to develop the movement on the basis of the new political thinking in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Dimitur Stanishev, Secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Viktor Sharapov, Soviet ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, participated in the meeting, which took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Receives Outgoing UK Envoy

LD0908124588 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, today received Bryan Cartledge, ambassador of Britain to Moscow, at his request and in connection with the end of his tour of duty and departure to the homeland.

During a businesslike and constructive exchange of views the sides noted with satisfaction that the Soviet-British dialogue gains momentum today, relations between the two countries become richer and the dynamics of bilateral links grow. In view of this, Shevardnadze underscored the unshakableness of the principle of peaceful co-existence as the supreme universal principle of inter-state relations.

The ambassador noted that the changes taking place in Soviet society, the assertion of openness and democratization make a great impression upon the British leadership and himself.

Centerpiece of the talk were questions of the two countries' real interaction in dealing with the all-important international problems, an all-round use of the constructive and searching nature of the dialogue that lays down the real groundwork for joint and parallel steps in the mainstream directions of the arms race limitation and disarmament, eliminating seats of regional tension, and increasing mutually beneficial international cooperation.

We see the real result of this dialogue not only in Britain's support of the treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles but also in the reached agreement regarding the disarmament priorities—a further reduction in nuclear armaments, a ban on and destruction of chemical weapons and drastic measures in the field of conventional armaments, Shevardnadze stressed.

The enhanced dynamics is typical of the entire complex of bilateral exchanges central to which remains the sides' constant aspiration for new forms of cooperation be it the economy, science or culture. The overriding task is not only to preserve the ground covered but also the need to move purposefully, without stopping at what has been achieved, toward increasingly stable and mutually beneficial relations.

During the talk Shevardnadze shared impressions of his working visit to Afghanistan.

In conclusion Shevardnadze wished the ambassador success in his work on a new post in Britain.

Genscher: Soviet Policy Eases Regional Conflicts

LD0908193788 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn August 9 TASS—An agreement on ceasefire in the Iranian-Iraqi front due to be put into effect on August 20 that was reached as a result of international efforts has shown that the East-West cooperation in the U.N. Security Council paved the way to the settlement of the conflict in the region. This was stated today by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister of foreign affairs of West Germany, in an interview with the Deutschlandfunk Broadcasting Station.

The armistice agreement is the accomplishment of the United Nations Organization, he continued, whose increased possibilities are the result of a new thinking in international relations. It means that the West and the East are not interested in drawing unilateral advantages from crises in the "Third World", that both sides, proceeding from their new relationship, are interested in the elimination of the hotbeds of tension. Successful talks on the future of southern Africa are also evidence of that, Genscher added.

He proposed the candidature of U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar for winning the Nobel Peace Prize.

The West German foreign minister said that, in his opinion, the policy pursued by the Soviet Union promoted the settlement of regional conflicts. This clearly manifested itself in the decision on the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan. This is why, he continued, it is important for the West to appreciate correctly the opportunities existing in the new Soviet policy. It means that one should not bind his own hands by skepticism which is no longer justifiable. The words of the Soviet leader were really followed by deeds.

Genscher pointed out that this had again manifested itself in the cooperation within the framework of the U.N. Security Council, in the support for the efforts of the U.N. secretary general. I could see it for myself during my recent talks in Moscow where we reached agreement on holding consultations by West Germany and the USSR on the problem of the hotbeds of tension in the world, Genscher emphasized.

FRG Official Favors Increased Trade

LD1008011488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2017 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn, 10 Aug (TASS)—Vladimir Smelov, TASS correspondent, reports: Rainer Bruederle, economy minister of the Rhineland-Pfalz Palatinate (SVDP), who recently visited the USSR, spoke in favor of extending fruitful trade and economic ties with the Soviet Union. The results of this trip, the outcome of intensive talks with the Soviet representatives, he told a TASS correspondent, cannot but rouse profound satisfaction.

In the nearest time, he went on, we expect a livening of contacts, a further development of cooperation with the Soviet Union, and an increase in the trade turnover. The present political climate in the USSR and the large-scale changes in all spheres of life which are under way in this country will, without doubt, further promote this.

The attainment of specific accords on cooperation between the Rhineland-Pfalz Palatinate and the partners in the USSR was one of the important results of the visit, R. Bruederle went on. At issue is in particular cooperation in the leather footwear, textile, and packaging industries. A joint working group has been set up. It includes specialists from the two countries, and its task is to present proposals on developing mutual contacts and on working out new projects. Thus, favorable opportunities currently exist for setting up Soviet-West German joint enterprises, in which Rhineland-Pfalz firms could participate.

We welcome, noted the minister, the accord on training in our palatinate Soviet specialists in the sphere of economic management. They will undergo theoretical and practical training in our country. In addition "Days of the USSR Economy" will be held in Rhineland-Pfalz at the end of 1989 or at the beginning of 1990. They will make it possible to exchange experience and to select further prospects of cooperation. We are prepared to cooperate with Soviet partners, added R. Bruederle.

Finnish General Valtanen Visits Kiev

AU0908142688 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Aug 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "Acquaintance With the Ukraine"]

[Text] While on an official visit to our country, General J. Valtanen, commander in chief of Finland's defense forces, visited the capital city of the Ukraine. On 4 August he was received by V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman. During a friendly conversation, J. Valtanen was briefed on the republic's economic and scientific potential, and on the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. He was briefed on the measures taken to deepen radical economic reform and to settle the food problem and other major social problems. It was noted that, in line with the directives of the 19th CPSU Conference, national economic management is being reorganized to make its mechanism more effective and flexible.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers chairman emphasized that the Ukraine's people fully supported the foreign political line pursued by the Soviet state to curb the arms race and to create nuclear weapon-free zones.

The visitor pointed out that he himself and the other Finnish officers were deeply impressed by the Ukraine's far-reaching goals and by its achievements, first of all in settling the housing problems and in meeting the spiritual needs of people, including youths.

In describing relations between the Armed Forces of Finland and of the Soviet Union, General J. Valtanen emphasized the rich experience accumulated in contacts at various levels, in exchange visits by ships and by sports delegations. We have succeeded in building trustworthy, neighborly relations, he said. Participating in the conversation were, on the Soviet side, Colonel General S.A. Dikov, deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; Colonel General V.V. Osipov, commander of the troops of the Kiev Military District, which has been awarded the Red Banner Order; K.P.

Boyko, affairs administrator in the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; and, on the Finnish side, the Finnish military representatives accompanying the guest.

The commander in chief of the Finnish defense forces visited Colonel General V.V. Osipov, commander of the troops of the Kiev Military District, which has been awarded the Red Banner Order. In the Park of Eternal Glory he laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and, with a minute of silence, paid tribute to the memory of the soldiers who fell in defense of their homeland during World War II. The guest visited the Kiev Antiaircraft Missile Engineering School, where he familiarized himself with the process of training officer cadres. He inspected the exposition of the Kiev branch of the Central V.I. Lenin Museum, the Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War 1941-45, and toured the hero city.

On 5 August J. Valtanen left for the Crimea.

Latin America & Caribbean

Burmistrov on Prospects for Trade With Brazil

PY0808191788 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portugese 7 Aug p 49

[Interview with Vladimir Burmistrov, Soviet deputy foreign trade minister, by O GLOBO correspondent Carlos Tavares de Oliveira in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] O GLOBO: What are the prospects for trade between Brazil and the Soviet Union in view of the possibilities created by the restructuring policy?

Burmistrov: Cooperation between the two countries has a long history. Over several decades our countries have gone from isolated transactions to stable commercial operations, cooperating in various ways and using as its base international agreements. Efforts to find new possibilities and methods of cooperation have been made both by government agencies and private enterprises. Today, this is in line with the spirit of radical economic reform prevailing in the Soviet Union. This is the spirit of restructuring, which should bring about an increase in trade between the two countries.

O GLOBO: Considering the low volume of bilateral trade, what measures would the Soviet Union like to implement to make that expansion possible?

Burmistrov: From a realistic standpoint one cannot but recognize that current trade does not represent the economic, scientific, and technical potential of the two countries. The recently created Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Union sees its task as the broadening of the basis of commerce with Brazil, in addition to enhancing the role of the Intergovernmental Joint Commission for Commercial, Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, which expands the exchange of information. With this in mind, we are making provisions for the 11th ordinary session of the Soviet-Brazilian Intergovernmental Commission, which will be held in Moscow in mid-September.

O GLOBO: Will the Soviet Union be in a position to offer finance for the purchase of machinery and equipment?

Burmistrov: Soviet enterprises are offering and will in the future be offering commercial credits under normal international trade terms and practices when supplying machinery and equipment to Brazil. To unify the terms of payments and deadlines for deliveries, it would be reasonable, in our opinion, to sign an intergovernmental agreement. We have made this proposal to the Brazilian Government.

O GLOBO: What is Brazil's importance in the context of the Soviet Union's foreign trade, particularly with Latin America?

Burmistrov: We attach great importance to the development of cooperation with Brazil in various areas, including the commercial and economic area. In our view, there is experience in and forms of cooperation with Brazil that can be successfully applied in other Latin American countries. Above all, I am referring to the long-term economic, commercial, scientific, and technical cooperation program signed on 30 September 1987 during the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Brazil. The creation of the first joint venture in Latin America, in which Soviet capital and Plodimex of Brazil participate, can also be mentioned. There is another Brazilian-Soviet joint venture for processing fruit juices, using local raw material and Brazilian orange juice concentrate, in Lipetsk, Soviet Union.

The possibility of Brazilian-Soviet Union joint ventures in other Latin American countries in the future cannot be ruled out.

O GLOBO: Considering the similarity between the problems shared by Brazil and the United States in their trade with the Soviet Union, could a cooperation agreement based on the one signed last April between the United States and the Soviet Union be sought?

Burmistrov: Your question reveals that the Brazilian press does not have sufficient information on this problem. That agreement was just a new form of cooperation when several U.S. private companies decided to join forces to undertake production projects in the Soviet Union. This form of cooperation is open not only to Americans. If Brazilian companies should express similar interest, their proposals will also be studied. The Soviet Union is interested and willing to cooperate with all countries under principles of mutual equality and advantage.

O GLOBO: The dynamic restructuring established by perestroyka and its subsequent development is making it difficult for Brazilian businessmen to understand what is taking place. What could be done to clarify the situation?

Burmistrov: Since 1986 restructuring has been implemented in the area of external economic ties, and many things have been radically changed. The changes in Soviet legislation will not help our foreign partners. However, the activities of some dynamic foreign enterprises attest to the fact that no obstacle is insurmountable. In 1987 seminars were held in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo on the problems and prospects of trade with the Soviet Union. I agree that such seminars should be held regularly. To this end, the participation of Brazilian firms at the Moscow Expo-Brazil will contribute a great deal.

O GLOBO: Several businesses in Brazil have demonstrated interest in the expansion of bilateral trade by creating a Brazil-Soviet Union Chamber of Commerce. What do you, sir, think of this initiative?

Burmistrov: Soviet organizations are willing to cooperate with different state and private enterprises. No doubt the creation of the Brazil-Soviet Union Chamber of Commerce in Rio de Janeiro and Belo Horizonte will favor the development of contacts.

O GLOBO: Does the first Soviet-Brazilian joint enterprise have any special characteristics?

Burmistrov: It is important to point out that this joint enterprise was not created in Moscow, but in Lipetsk, a district capital. I am sure that our cooperation will not be limited just to Lipetsk and Sao Paulo. Currently, the Soviet and Brazilian partners are studying cooperation in different directions. However, it is too soon to speak of possible results.

O GLOBO: In which sectors would the Soviet Union be interested in investing in Brazil?

Burmistrov: Our economic development plans are huge and require large capital expenditures. We are willing to take advantage of the international division of labor. Prospects in Brazil are good in the areas of steelmaking, irrigation, railroad construction, machinery manufacturing, and energy exploitation, among others. In all these sectors, the Soviet organizations have much experience, modern technology, and qualified personnel. They can also offer equipment and materials of high quality. The possibilities for cooperation will be studied on a case-by-case basis under the fundamental principle of mutual advantage.

CPSU Delegation Returns From Guyana Congress

PM0908145088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Return"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation consisting of S.M. Nesterenko, second secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee (leader of the delegation), and D.D. Muravyev, CPSU Central Committee senior official, has returned to Moscow from Georgetown.

The delegation took part in the 23d Congress of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana.

Political & Social

Ukraine Passes Decree on Rally Violations

AU0908091388 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 4 Aug 88 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] On 28 July 1988 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium passed a decree "On the Procedure of Organizing and Holding Gatherings, Meetings, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the USSR" (which was published on 29 July in the newspapers IZVESTIYA, RADYANSKA UKRAINA, and PRAVDA UKRAINY).

In accordance with this decree, and in order to ensure public order and protect the interests of citizens during mass actions, on 3 August 1988 the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium passed a decree "On Responsibility for Violating the Procedure Established for Organizing and Holding Gatherings, Meetings, Street Processions, and Demonstrations."

The decree provides that any person who violates the established procedure for organizing or holding gatherings, meetings, street processions, and demonstrations is administratively liable to a warning or a fine of up to R300. In exceptional cases, when these penalties are considered insufficient in view of the circumstances or the transgressor's identity, administrative detention of up to 15 days may be applied.

For the same acts repeated within a year after administrative punishment, or perpetrated by the organizer of a gathering, meeting, street procession, or demonstration, the decree provides for administrative liability to a fine of up to R1,000, to corrective labor from 1 to 2 months with a 20-percent deduction from wages, or administrative detention for up to 15 days.

Any organizer of a gathering, meeting, street procession, or demonstration who violates the established procedure for organizing or holding gatherings, meetings, street processions, and demonstrations within a year of the imposition of an administrative punishment for identical acts is criminally liable to imprisonment for up to 6 months, corrective labor for up to 1 year, or a fine of up to R2,000.

The decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium provides for the administrative detention of persons for infringing the established procedure for organizing and holding gatherings, meetings, street processions, and demonstrations. It also establishes a procedure for drawing up a report on the aforesaid administrative offenses and for the examination of such cases by a people's judge. Provision has also been made that, in imposing an administrative punishment, the judge has the right to require an offender who does not reside in the place in question to leave. Costs connected with the execution of such a ruling by a people's judge are to be paid in the way established by the law.

Appropriate amendments and supplements have been made to the Ukrainian SSR code on administrative offenses, and in the Ukrainian SSR criminal and criminal proceedings codes.

Construction Ministry Altered

AU0808153688 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 4 Aug 88 p 1

["A Decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to transform the union-republic Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry of the Ukrainian SSR into the republic Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry of the Ukrainian SSR.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The city of Kiev, 3 August 1988

Ukraine Politburo Views Conference Decisions

AU0808153588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 4 Aug 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At its recent session, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo examined the Central Committee's organizational plan for implementing in the republic the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Organizational and political measures were drawn up to deepen radical economic reform, to accelerate socioeconomic development, to raise the people's prosperity, to democratize public life, to reform the political system, to restructure ideological activity, and to improve relations among nationalities. The decision was adopted to submit this plan to a routine plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee for examination.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo seconded the motions of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers to transform the Ukrainian SSR union-republic Ministry of Construction Materials Industry into the Ukrainian SSR republic Ministry of Construction Materials Industry, to introduce new branch management schemes in the construction materials industry, communications, grain products, and consumer services, and to review the management scheme in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This will make it possible to make the management mechanism more flexible, and to reduce the management apparatus.

Also discussed were ways to implement the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "on the measures to further improve public health and to strengthen the material-technical base of health services." In the adopted decision, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers set concrete tasks to significantly improve medical assistance to the population and preventive measures against diseases, to reconstruct and expand the network of health service establishments, to staff hospitals and polyclinics with highly qualified medical workers, and to increase the norms of expenditures fixed for the feeding of patients, as well as for the purchase of drugs, instruments, and equipment.

Other social and service problems were also examined. As reported, a hospital for internationalist soldiers is being built in Kiev. It will include a 400-bed clinic, a polyclinic capable of treating up to 300 patients per shift, a training and production enterprise with 300 workplaces, a boarding house for 240, and other subsidiary facilities.

While the aforesaid complex is under construction, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo resolved to requalify, as of 1 January 1989, the "Lesnaya Polyana" sanatory run in Pushcha Voditsa by the 4th Main Administration of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health for the medical convalescence of internationalist soldiers. This sanatorium has two 220-bed dormitory blocks, a good base for diagnosis and medical treatment, a 240-seat dining room, a club, and other economic and sports facilities.

The children's rehabilitation complex of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Affairs Administration is to be handed over to the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health for the treatment of disabled children.

Six houses with 530 apartments, under construction in Pecherskiy district, have been handed over to Kiev Gorispolkom and are to be inhabited by the families of internationalist soldiers and other families enjoying appropriate allowances. The construction of these houses was ordered by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Affairs Administration, the republic's Council of Ministers, and Gosplan. Three of them will be put into service as early as 1989.

The 4th Main Administration under the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health has also handed over to Kiev Gorispolkom's health service section the premises of two polyclinics with equipment and drugstores, totaling some 20,000 square meters.

In the future, houses ordered by republic organs will be built in accordance with standard plans, and the construction of houses for party and administrative functionaries will be fairly proportioned.

Medical Services To Improve

AU0908154288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Aug 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has examined the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers' proposals to further improve public health and to strengthen the material-technical base of health services during the 13th 5-Year Plan, in conformity with the 20 June 1988 decision by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on this subject.

Large-scale measures have been drawn up to substantially improve the quality of medical assistance to the population, to expand and to strengthen the material base of hospitals and polyclinics, to establish proper order in the latter, and to raise the level of preparation of medical workers and the level of their responsibility for the population's health conditions.

Provisions have been made to allot more than R3 billion for the construction of medical and preventative establishments during the 13th 5-Year Plan, which is 2.5 times more than the current 5-year period allocates for this purpose. A great deal is to be done to reconstruct hospitals and polyclinics located in old buildings, and to bring them into line with present requirements. The material base of higher and secondary medical educational establishments will be substantially strengthened.

The Central Committee Politburo has emphasized the responsibility of leaders of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health, oblispolkoms, the Kiev Gorispolkom, and construction organizations to fully accomplish the set tasks, and to provide material, technical, and labor resources to the facilities which are under construction.

The task has been set to radically improve in the immediate future the care of patients in hospitals, to streamline the performance of outpatient establishments and polyclinics, and to rule out waiting lines in them; to intensify political and educational work in medical collectives, with particular attention to the efficiency of services and to the increased responsibility of every staff member for the discharge of his or her professional duty; and to resolutely curb the manifestations of callousness, heartlessness, rudeness, red tape, and extortion.

Attention has been called to the need to improve work in a sphere as important as the protection of motherhood and childhood. For this purpose priority has been given to the development of appropriate health service sectors, and provisions have been made to expand the network of maternity homes, children's hospitals, and specialized sanatoriums, and to put them in proper order. Plans have been drawn up to organize sanatorium-type preschool establishments (groups) for weakened and sickly

children, and to permit, whenever necessary, children up to 3 years of age to be hospitalized with one of the parents. It has been found necessary to establish for working women, as of 1 September 1990, 70 calendar days of leave before they have their baby.

The network of hospitals and departments (wards) for soldiers disabled in the Patriotic War will be expanded. The material and technical base of the existing establishments of this type is to be improved at the same time. These establishments will give medical assistance to ex-combatants and to persons with the status of disabled soldiers.

The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health, oblispolkoms, and the Kiev Gorispolkom have been commissioned, in cooperation with the Ukrainian Trade Unions Council and the republic's ministries and departments, to expand in stages, before 1995, the practice of annual examinations in the clinic system on the entire population. Leaders of associations, enterprises, and organizations, along with trade unions and other public organizations, are expected to give health service establishments practical assistance in expanding the clinic system and in improving the working people's health conditions.

Concrete measures have been drawn up to further develop and improve cardiological, oncological, stomatological, heriatrical, psychological, neurological, and other kinds of specialized medical assistance; to expand the base of medical establishments in the countryside; and to create in rayon hospitals mobile outpatient departments, stomatological surgeries, diagnostic laboratories, drug stores, and other subunits that make all kinds of medical assistance more accessible to the rural population.

A number of sanitary, hygienic, nature protecting, and social measures have been provided to improve the environment, to prevent diseases and premature aging, and to prolong active longevity. The appropriate ministries and departments are expected to invigorate the health education of the population, to enhance rational feeding, and to eradicate drunkenness, drug addiction, smoking, and other harmful habits.

The accomplishment of these tasks will make it possible to provide the population in a practical way with medical assistance in hospitals, to significantly improve the quality and standards of out-patient and polyclinical services, to lessen the sickness rate, and to bring the entire organizational system of the republic's health services into line with the present requirements.

Obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, basic party organizations, executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies, the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health, and other ministries and departments are called upon to more vigorously implement party and government decisions with regard to the further development of health services, medical science, and the protection of the Soviet people's health.

Armenian Officials Retire; Appointment Noted

NC1008110888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 10 Aug 88

[Text] The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has released Khazhak Andranikovich Drampyan from his duties as minister of automobile transport of the Armenian SSR in view of his retirement.

The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has released Stepan Grigoryevich Mutafyan from his duties as chairman of the State Committee for Statistics of the Armenian SSR in view of his retirement.

The Council of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has released Stepan Grigoryevich Mutafyan from his duties as chairman of the State Committee for Statistics of the Armenian SSR in view of his retirement.

The Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR has appointed Comrade Zaven Aleksandrovich Nunushyan as first deputy minister of social security of the Armenian SSR.

The Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR has released Comrade (Yaroslav Aleksandrovich Prilutskiy) from his duties as deputy chairman of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply of the Armenian SSR in view of his retirement.

Armenian Education Ministries Combined

NC1008071788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 10 Aug 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The paper reports that the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet has formed a Union-Republican Ministry of Public Education of the Armenian SSR, amalgamating the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, and the State Committee for Professional-Technical Education. Semen Tigranovich Akhumyan [former education minister] has been appointed minister of public education of the Armenian SSR.

Paper Cited on Nagorno-Karabakh Situation

NC1008080688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 10 Aug 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The paper publishes two items on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. One dispatch tells of the state of affairs at the Karabakh Silk Combine. Here the economic dislocation caused by the strikes is figured at R8 million, which is approximately 2 months' worth of production. However, the combine's collective is already coming close to the pre-February production index.

The paper also carries an interview with the secretary of the party committee at the Yerevan Institute of Physics on the collective's attitude toward the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution on the NKAO. The response is unanimous: The scientists believe that the adoption of any other decision would have been impossible in the situation that had been created and within the framework of the constitution in force.

Agricultural Failings Noted

NC0908123688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Our permanent correspondent in Stepanakert, (Anna Garsyan), reports:

The Bureau of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom held its regular session yesterday to discuss the progress of the fulfillment of deliveries to the state of agricultural products by the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the oblast. It was noted that as a consequence of the weakening of organizational and political work, of control on the part of party raykoms, rayispolkoms, and the oblast agricultural production committee, and of the work of the heads of soviet and economic organs, there has been a drop in the planned performance discipline and a violation of the labor rhythm in many of the oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. A complicated situation has been created among cattle breeders. As a consequence of a relatively low grain harvest, the various enterprises of the oblast have not yet started to deliver grain to the state. All the rayons are lagging behind in the sale of vegetables to the state.

The obkom bureau discussed the abnormal phenomenon of a series of kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the oblast during the last few months not insuring [words indistinct] especially of meat and milk. The bureau has asked party raykoms to improve all methods of party management in the agro-industrial complex, and to consolidate glasnost, concreteness, and efficiency in the work of party committees and primary party organizations.

The session of the obkom bureau also examined the question of the work of the Martuninskiy party raykom on the [words indistinct] of the CPSU and strengthening of the party's (?role). The bureau has addressed a memorandum on the issue from the party organizational work department and the party control commission attached to the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom to the Martuninskiy Party Raykom on the adoption of measures to remove the noted deficiencies. Other questions of party and economic life were also studied.

Lithuanian Television Broadcasts Polish Program

LD0808211788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Lithuanian Television has begun to broadcast a regular program in Polish entitled "Panorama of the Week" [Panorama Tygodnia]. Leslaw Nowak reports from Moscow on the first edition of "Panorama":

[Nowak] The program is compiled in the main news bureau of republican television, the office directed by (Vytautas Cheipkaukas), and it begins with a few bars from Przasniczka by Stanislaw Moniuszko. The first edition of "Panorama" in Polish contains a review of the week's events, an agricultural review, a report on the reconstruction of the Vilnius old town by conservation workers from Poland, a report on the plans of the Sociocultural Association of Poles in Lithuania, and other items.

As (Romuald Wiechowski), head of the Russian and Polish section of Lithuanian Television news bureau, said, the new program will devote more time to the problems that concern Poles. It will show their participation in the economic and social life of Lithuania, and it will feature ties and cooperation with Poland. Reporters with cameras and microphones will visit places, enterprises, and farms, all those locations where there are the greatest concentrations of the population of Polish nationality, who total more than 250,000.

The program is the result of restructuring and the practical result of this year's resolution of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee on the subject of the development of the sociopolitical activity of national groups living in Lithuania and on the fuller satisfaction of their needs in the sphere of language and culture.

RSFSR Cinematography Chief Sychev Retires

LD0808212388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Nikolay Yakovlevich Sychev from his post as chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Cinematography in connection with his retirement on pension.

Procuracy Official on Law on Demonstrations

LD0808190288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Excerpts] [Presenter] The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on procedures for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations in the USSR comes into force today. Listen now to a conversation between our correspondent and Mikhail Nikiforovich Vazhenin, assistant to the USSR procurator general:

[Begin recording] [Vazhenin] This decree was adopted in response to two circumstances. First, freedom of speech and the press and freedom to hold displays, marches, and demonstrations are guaranteed in the Constitution, but the procedure for enjoying these constitutional freedoms was not defined. Now, this decree regulates the procedure for citizens to use their constitutional freedoms. The second circumstance is the further deepening of democratization and glasnost in the country, which

have made the participation of citizens in the life of the country more active. This decree was adopted to regulate this participation. The decree clarifies both the responsibilities of the state toward citizens and the responsibilities of citizens toward the state. In my view, what is fundamentally important in the decree is that to hold meetings, rallies, street processions, or demonstrations, there must be an application to the executive committee of the relevant local soviet of people's deputies. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] If a meeting or, say, a rally evolves spontaneously and does not threaten public order or the safety of citizens, but, on the contrary, corresponds to public interests, say an ecology rally, how should such a case be dealt with?

[Vazhenin] I think that one should proceed from the spirit of the law. Even if the form has been violated through failure to inform or present an application to the executive committee of the relevant soviet, if this undertaking does not violate public order and does not pose a threat to public safety or the rights and legitimate interests of citizens, then there are no grounds for the corresponding officials or executive committee to deem the given undertaking illegal.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Nikiforovich, sometimes voices are heard saying that the decree restricts the democratic freedoms of citizens and organizations. What can you say about this?

[Vazhenin] Democratization has nothing in common with anarchy or complete license. The law determines the procedure for holding mass undertakings so that they are held in the interests of the state and under no circumstances contradict the interests of society, public safety, or the rights and interests of citizens. Therefore, any attempts to call this law undemocratic and antipopular are in my view clearly groundless.

The effectiveness and successfulness of the readopted decrees will depend greatly on how precisely and undeviatinglty they are implemented by all departments, officials, and citizens. The task of the bodies of the procuracy in this respect is to ensure precise and undeviating supervision of the implementation of these decrees. [end recording]

Leningrad Visa Official Views Exit Policy

LD0908090288 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Leningrad August 9 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Chumakov reports:

"I am afraid that we will never manage to issue a permission to leave the USSR to Leningrader Aleksey Bronshtein, although U.S. Senators William Cohen and James Exon and also other citizens and organisations in the West ardently solicit about this", said Leonid Savitskiy, head of the Leningrad Visa and Registration Department for Foreigners (OVIR), and explained the reason: "A man with such a name never applied for a permission to leave, mythical Aleksey simply does not live in Leningrad".

"The authors of many letters and appeals from abroad do not always know the substance and state of matters", Savitskiy went on. "For instance, ahead of the latest summit meeting the Visa and Registration Department for Foreigners received a list of persons who were temporarily denied permission to leave. There were Leningraders in it as well. The department staffers checked each case and revealed many inaccuracies and mistakes".

"For instance, a certain Leonid Gofman figured in the list. We know only one Leningrader under this name but he emigrated to Israel together with his wife, son and mother back in 1973. Eduard Frid, Rem Shmidt and Aleksandr Vainer left the USSR last year. Leonid Mekhteis and his wife left long ago. Georgiy Sagallo left more than two years ago under his wife's name—Reili. Mark Shoikhet, 22, refused in the last moment to follow his parents, who have left for Israel recently, and remained in Leningrad. He told OVIR that he decided to devote his energies to the struggle for other refuseniks. Mark Iosilevich, who was also mentioned in the list, did not apply to us either".

Eighty eight people of the Jewish nationality in Leningrad were temporarily denied permission to leave the USSR for permanent residence in other countries by now.

"In all cases the visas were denied for state security reasons. In other circumstances, there are no problems with obtaining exit documents", head of the Leningrad OVIR noted. "One thousand and eleven persons of the Jewish nationality left Leningrad for permament residence abroad after receiving a call from relatives for family reunification last year and 890—over seven months of this year".

"A veritable storm rages in the West now around the names of many refuseniks", Savitskiy noted. "Among those who wrote to us concerning Olga Latinskaya were both specialists from the French Physicists' Committee and U.S. senators. Latinskaya was denied a permission to leave because she did not present her father's statement, certified at notary's office, that he does not have material claims to his daughter. Without it documents are not considered under Soviet laws".

"I would like to ask our foreign correspondents to check the truthfullness of the information presented by them and also to familiarize themselves with a genuine state of matters in the issue of documents to citizens for leaving abroad. It is easlier for them to do it today than in most of the countries of the world", Savitskiy concluded.

PRAVDA Notes MVD Conference Discussions

PM1008132788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Police Commissars"]

[Text] The activity of internal affairs bodies cannot be effectively restructured without a clear definition of the role, place, and tasks of political workers in this area. This was emphasized once again at a 6 August all-union conference of personnel of USSR Internal Affairs Ministry political bodies.

The report by USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Political Administration chief A.V. Anikiyev noted that political workers must focus attention on the person, the policeman who has been empowered to act on behalf of the authorities. The personnel of internal affairs bodies must learn to carry out tasks successfully in conditions of the consistent widening of glasnost and democracy, rid themselves of stereotypes, and develop new political and professional qualities. The comprehensive strengthening of cooperation with the public is a constant condition of greater efficiency in the activity of Internal Affairs Ministry bodies in combating crime.

It was noted at the conference that in order to widen glasnost in relation to the work of the police it is necessary to strengthen cooperation with the press and try to discuss openly the tasks facing the bodies.

Political bodies must shift the emphasis in their activity from supervisory functions to practical organization and take party political work directly to the places where personnel operate. Naturally, this requires an in-depth knowledge of the problems and peculiarities of the different subunits and their difficulties.

Prosecutor's Office Collegium Views Role

PM0908134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[A. Chernyak report: "At the USSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] Revolutionary transformations are affecting our life at an ever deeper level. The documents of the 19th all-union party conference and the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum are the focus of Soviet people's attention. They are being interpreted and the place and role of every collective and every working person in their implementation are being defined. A detailed discussion of the tasks facing prosecutor's office bodies as a result of the party conference decisions was held yesterday at an enlarged session of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium.

"When setting about implementing the decisions taken by the party, we must grasp the scientific and practical significance of the concept of a legal state and translate into practical language the laconic formulas of the resolution on legal reform, particularly the section which directly addresses the prosecutor's office and its transition to a new work system," said A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor, when presenting his report.

Discussing serious shortcomings in the work of law enforcement organs, he noted that in the last 2 decades the prosecutor's office has been given so many additional responsibilities that its functions connected with supervising the rule of law have in one way or another been relegated to second or even third place. The result has been a localized "rule of law," a departmental arbitrariness, and the prosecutor's office has essentially become an appendage of the local high-handed, bureaucratic system of administration, while its centralized and independent nature as a law enforcement organ has been eroded. Many workers have found themselves defenseless before the abuses of leading officials.

The prosecutor has lost sight of some vitally important problems: administrative practice for example, which, incidentally, is based on norms that in many cases do not stipulate that officials are answerable to the prosecutor's office. Just try to prove that you are right in a conflict with a state automobile inspector or in a store or repair shop. A futile exercise.

Or take the economy. Enterprises are transferring to economic accountability. The braking mechanism has immediately made itself felt. The high-handed bureaucratic system and emergent economic methods of management are engaged in single combat. There are signs of departmental interpretation of the Law on the State Enterprise, labor collectives' independence is being curtailed, and attempts are being made to squeeze them into the old confines of rigid state orders. The collegium approved of the action taken by A. Antoshin, prosecutor for Moscow's Cheremushkinskiy Rayon, who defended the rights of the "Pobeda" Plant. Unfortunately, examples like this are still extremely rare. The general prosecutor has demanded the guarantee of strict compliance with the Law on the State Enterprise and emphasis placed on appeals against all administrative acts at variance with the law.

The task now is to intensify the struggle against bad management and wastefulness. At fruit and vegetable bases at present, as much as one-third of all produce is left to rot. Meat combines waste as much as 600,000 tonnes of cattle (live weight). And there are objective reasons for all this. But law enforcement organs are often reconciled to this kind of situation.

The main aspect of prosecutor's office supervision today, the collegium stressed, is to ensure reliable guarantees of constitutional rights and freedoms. By highlighting the human factor, the party has placed citizens' needs and interests at the center of restructuring. The prosecutor's office is doing a considerable amount of work to restore the rights of the working people. For example, last year alone more than 100,000 complaints

were satisfied. However, the prosecutor's office has yet to make a really radical move in the direction of protecting rights and legal interests.

The collegium noted that since 1985, when the improvement in society's moral climate began, the growth in crime has been halted. But even here there is still a lot to be done. The increase in repeated crime and the spread of vicious acts of violence involving the use of weapons is alarming. Incidents involving groups of young hooligans that have serious consequences are quite frequent. Recently in the city of Morshansk, Tambov Oblast, a clash between two hostile groups of young people developed into an attack on the city militia department in which more than 200 people were involved. A crowd of people forced their way into the duty section. Thirteen militia workers were among the casualties.

Events like these do not come to a head overnight. They show up the shortcomings in our work. The Morshansk prosecutor merely contemplated the hooligans' dissoluteness and allowed people accused of murder and causing grievous bodily harm to go free.

Prosecutor's office supervisory bodies, it was stressed at the collegium, are expected to strictly monitor the accurate, uniform interpretation and application of the law throughout the country; wage a persistent struggle against breaches of socialist legality, regardless of who is responsible for these breaches; establish the supremacy of the law in practice; and firmly pursue a policy of strengthening the legal levers of restructuring.

The collegium outlined a specific program of action for the prosecutor's office designed to strengthen the rule of law in the country, basing this program on the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the collegium's work.

Zaykov Interviewed on Moscow Problems

PM0408102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow Gorkom, by Yu. Kazmin, chief of the PRAVDA correspondents' Moscow center: "To Work and Live Better"; date and place not given—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Moscow's party organization is a mighty detachment of restructuring. The chief of the PRAVDA correspondents' Moscow center talked with L.N. Zaykov about the life of the capital's Communists today and about how they are implementing the decisions of the all-union party conference in specific deeds.

[Kazmin] Lev Nikolayevich, it was pointed out at the 19th all-union party conference that during the first years of restructuring we have halted the country's slide toward an economic and sociopolitical crisis. The consolidation of society and the development of the people's creative energy are taking place in the country and the capital under the impact of the ideas and deeds of restructuring. People have come to believe in the possibility of the real renewal of all of our life. The capital must occupy its fitting place in these revolutionary transformations. But the desire alone is not enough to lend reality and strength to lofty words and good intentions. We all remember that many good decisions were adopted and many vivid speeches made, but it somehow turned out in fact that we did not live any better.

How is the Moscow party organization overcoming this discrepancy today?

[Zaykov] I would like to preface our conversation with a few thoughts. You and I are living in interesting and complex times. Since April 1985 the party and the people have actively and persistently tackled the resolution of the problems that have accumulated. The sense of what is happening is expressed by the broad concept of restructuring. Consciousness and work style are being restructured, and the economic mechanism is being reformed—in short, the party's entire domestic and foreign policy is being renewed. This is the reason why the 19th all-union party conference took place in such an unusually sharp and, most importantly, concrete and constructive way. It was a great political school not only for the delegates but also for the entire party and all Soviet people.

The conference decisions and resolutions and the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum are a kind of "launch mechanism" for transformations in the country. The strength of the documents lies, as it were, in the fact that they are not dogma but a guide for action. The main areas of our offensive have been defined, and a program political position has been elaborated on all fundamental questions of society's development. Everyone is now required to step up the pace in the struggle for our society's truly socialist ideals, for strong positions in the economy and in the social sphere, and for the strengthening of the Soviet people's moral, political, and international unity. At the current meetings with conference delegates people are demanding that the multifaceted decisions of the party forum, which are full of collective reason and experience, be transferred more quickly to the plane of practical affairs. This is the chief guideline for the party and for us party workers.

I will state frankly that in meetings in labor collectives I find both an opportunity to study the accumulated problems in greater depth and understand people's everyday cares. I love such meetings and willingly go to them. The people's optimism, their faith in what the party is doing today, the desire to overcome society's ailments as quickly as possible, the thorough approach to

work, and the exacting attitude toward us leaders have an encouraging effect. Since the conference I have visited the "Znamya Revolyutsii" Plant, the subway builders, and a number of scientific establishments. And the chief conclusion that can be drawn from these meetings is that the people are solidly behind restructuring.

The positive changes taking place both in the country and in Moscow cannot fail to be seen. Although I will not conceal the fact that it is not at all easy to overcome stagnation and shortcomings. The experience of the past 3 years indicates clearly that the braking mechanism will operate until freeloading sentiments, social apathy, and bureaucratic administration have been eliminated.

The realization of the guidelines of the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress decisions convinces us that restructuring is gathering momentum in those areas where its goal and the social consequences have been clearly outlined, where the tasks are being resolved systematically and comprehensively, and where party organizations have been able to lead people. Party committees must strengthen the political nature of leadership, resolutely eliminate command and edict methods, and assert the democratic principles of party and public life. But, of course, they must also exercise daily firm control over the implementation of the party's policy of revolutionary renewal, acting creatively, using ideological educational and organizational work methods, but without acting as a guardian to or fettering grassroots party links. This was the task given to us by the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum, which discussed the results of the all-union party conference. The work of the party apparatus must increasingly be distinguished by businesslike efficiency, glasnost, a critical mood and, most importantly, daily contact with the working people.

I will state bluntly that this transition to political methods of leadership is not being achieved easily. Party committees still seek to "hog the whole blanket," as it were. It cannot fail to be seen that many party workers are parting with administrative pressure methods painfully and with difficulty. Others perceive only the outside of democracy, are afraid to go deep into the flow of life, and eschew both the new forms and the new substance of political work among the masses. The clear and consistent delimitation of the functions of party committees and state and economic organs is assuming great significance in this connection. The recently approved master plan for managing the city's economy is also aimed at this. It is based on the principle of combining sectoral and territorial management and on the elimination of duplication and parallelism in the work of gorispolkom services. The chief thing is that the rights of rayon links are being extended sharply. And this is very important because each of our 33 rayons is strictly individual, and its industrial, scientific, and cultural potential has specific features. Leading them from a single center means constantly running the risk of reducing them to a common denominator and not taking the special features of the territory fully into account.

There must be a sharp increase in the role of the rayon link, for both the problems and the ways to resolve them are more visible locally. The rayons need independence, economic accountability [khozraschet], and self-financing. Without this it will be difficult to implement also the city's transfer to the principles of economic accountability and self-financing next year. It is understandable that, just as an enterprise which does not have economic accountability at the internal production level cannot make efficient use of its advantages, so the city economy as a whole will hardly advance unless the new principles of economic management are set in motion at the rayon level. For the city's plan is the sum of the rayons' plans.

What is needed, in short, is modern, efficient approaches and work methods that accord with the spirit of restructuring and an integral system for eliminating disproportions in the development of the city's economy and, above all, in its social sphere. Precisely these goals are served by the formation of the new Master Plan for the Development of Moscow and the Oblast through 2010 and the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectoral program. The latter concretizes the priority areas for the development of science and technology and makes it possible to lay down groundwork for the long term—which is the basis without which progress cannot be made.

It is of fundamental importance that the program is being drawn up from below and takes the maximum account of working people's suggestions. Labor collective councils are taking an active part in this work. In strict accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise, it is these that are giving the enterprise's comprehensive program a start in life. I wish particularly to point to the program's social thrust and its orientation toward resolving the most burning urban problems, including ecological ones.

The orientation toward action being asserted in our life is producing results. I will remark, for example, that the capital's industry has succeeded in overcoming the unfavorable trends in labor productivity growth rates which became apparent during the stagnation years. Executive discipline is being put right, and fulfillment of deliveries under contract is steadily approaching 100 percent. It is clear that by improving the economy we are creating the basis for raising people's living standards. Progress is being made, which is also confirmed in many other ways. And we are in a perfectly optimistic mood. But it is quite obvious that the economy's social reorientation must be carried out still more vigorously.

[Kazmin] In confirmation of this conclusion permit me to cite an extract from a letter to PRAVDA by Muscovite subway builders. Here is what they write: "There are

many reasons preventing us subway builders from making faster progress. In the current 5-year plan 45 km of subway lines will be constructed in the capital. But what effort does this take? Our work rhythm is being held up because of poor supplies of cement, concrete, ferroconcrete structures, pipes, and other materials. You might think that all conditions for work and leisure ought to be created for the subway builders, but this is not in fact so." (S. Aristarkhov, tunnelers' team leader and chairman of the labor collective council; A. Pronin, tunnelers' team leader; A. Trushkin, fitters' team leader; B. Klimentyev, tunneler; V. Kolomnets, miner and chairman of the plant committee).

I too have repeatedly seen the complex conditions under which Moscow construction workers, Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant [ZIL] foundry workers, and "Serp i Molot" rolling mill operators work. People stated frankly that the modernization of Moscow enterprises must be speeded up and complained about the working of city transport and about dirt in the streets.

[Zaykov] I will speak first of the subway builders' letter. The workers pose the question correctly. Unfortunately, those times are gone when the pace of construction of new subway lines satisfied the city. The former glory of the capital's subway construction administration has tarnished noticeably. New residential districts have grown up in Moscow which are difficult to reach by public transport. The existing lines are overloaded, and the timetable is frequently violated. This is why the party gorkom has singled out the problems of the capital's subway as being of paramount importance. We recently made a detailed study of the situation on the spot, as it were, directly on the construction of the subway lines nearing completion, together with the leaders of the Ministry of Transport Construction and the Ministry of Railways. It has to be said that the tunnelers with whom we chatted in a tunnel at the "Timiryazevskaya" station, which is under construction, spoke of the same problems as the writers of the letter to PRAVDA. They approach them knowledgeably and display both solicitous gumption and wisdom, which some leaders sometimes lack. I was pleased to see that labor collective councils are really beginning to function among the subway builders, take an assertive stand, and do not tolerate shortcomings. V.M. Sochkov, chairman of the labor collective council of the No 1 Construction and Installation Administration, voiced the subway builders' complaints in a principled, open, and very pointed manner to Transport Construction Minister V.A. Brezhnev and "Mosmetrostroy" Chief Yu.A. Koshelev, who came to the construction site. The complaints are connected with the unsatisfactory supply of the necessary equipment, materials, and spare parts, the bad operation of canteens, and a number of other production and social-domestic problems.

Of course, the tasks of the capital's subway construction administration are substantially more complex now. Whereas 20-25 km of new lines were laid down in previous 5-year plans, 45 km are to be laid down in the present one. Not to mention the tremendous volume of work on the technical modernization of existing lines, the construction of additional entrances at stations built earlier, and the construction of "deferred," so to speak, subway stations in directions that have long been in operation. This does not add a single running meter, as the subway builders say, but it costs a tremendous amount.

But a still higher pace of subway construction is needed for Moscow's development. At present it is planned to commission 50 km of underground railroads in the next 5-year plan. However, even this is plainly not enough. In order to ease the load on passenger transport, including above ground, and particularly during the rush hours, it is necessary to construct at least 60 km of subway lines. Planning and financial organs, the machine-building ministries, and the Ministry of Railways must take additional measures jointly with Moscow Gorispolkom to retool the subway, to reequip it with modern rolling stock and means of automation, and to strengthen its repair base.

Although it is extremely important to develop the capital's subway, this is just one of our city's many problems. I must frankly admit that just a few months ago, when I was starting work in Moscow's city party organization, I was not fully aware of the depth of the consequences of stagnation in the capital. The neglected state of the social sphere, the backwardness of fixed capital in industry, and the concentration, as V.I. Lenin said, of all-Russian and local red tape have assumed dimensions here which it will take an extraordinary effort to surmount. The level of technical equipment in many Moscow enterprises, particularly in the electrical equipment, textile, and food-processing sectors, is lagging behind modern requirements. One machine tool in every 7 has been in operation more than 20 years. The share of manual labor in industry stands at more than 30 percent. Many enterprises which were our pride and joy during the first 5-year plans have today become dilapidated, to put it bluntly.

Is the widespread opinion that Moscow is only a consumer and that everything is brought in from outside a fair one? Our city is an inalienable constituent part of the entire national economic complex. Moscow industry annually gives the country output worth tens of billions of rubles, including many kinds of high-technology output. Muscovites produce 12 percent of the all-union output of automatic and semiautomatic lines for machine building and metalworking, 33 percent of machine tools with digital program control, and 4 percent of instruments and automation equipment. Approximately 33 million pairs of footwear and almost 6 percent of fabrics are also produced by enterprises in the capital. To this I will add that millions of Soviet people consider themselves Muscovites because they studied here and acquired knowledge, experience, and skills.

Moscow is unique. And in the name of restructuring all spheres of its life it is necessary to act in a considered, comprehensive manner, organically combining urgent measures with long-term solutions.

As a conference delegate I met with ZIL workers and specialists. Our conversations were frank, and you could sense the motor vehicle builders' great interest in deepening the processes of democratization in production, introducing economic accountability and self-financing, and accelerating the pace of modernization of the flagship of the motor vehicle industry. The sector's leaders have also had to revise their usual attitude toward a progressive enterprise where everything seems to proceed of its own accord. Incidentally, we frequently devote more attention to laggards, to those who have failed in something and who have to be hauled out of trouble. But, at the same time, no less complex problems are building up at ZIL, which fulfills all the plan targets, and at similar large enterprises. Is it really permissible that so-called temporary workers make up as much as 40 percent of vehicle assembly teams, while many cadre production workers, native Muscovites, huddle together in communal apartments?

The difficult but correct decision to stop workers being brought into the capital from other cities was adopted 2 years ago. This would have played a positive role if the decision had been backed up by the intensive retooling of industry and the competent redistribution of labor resources. However, this was not done. Things were smooth on paper, but people forgot about the ravines that have to be negotiated. And the "ravines" in this case are the obsolete normatives for developing the social sphere and the tardiness in fulfilling the USSR Council of Ministers' earlier instructions on removing incongruous and ecologically harmful enterprises and organizations from the capital. In the 12th 5-Year Plan, for example, it was planned to release more than 30,000 workers as a result of this, but in fact only 43 of the 169 enterprises which it had been planned to move outside the city have been transferred during the 2.5 years, and just 7,600 people have been released. In addition, there remain many production facilities for the production of the simplest articles (paper clips, thumbtacks, fishhooks) which could perfectly well be sited in regions with a clear surplus of manpower. The result is that workers continue to be attracted from other cities, only this assumes hidden, camouflaged forms, in the guise, for example, of an invitation to temporary work.

Naturally, all this requires additional resources: People need housing, food, clothing. I will add that approximately 2 million people travel to Moscow every day and also need hotels, dining facilities, and transport. But it is precisely the city's infrastructure that is least developed, and the existing normatives do not take these special features into account.

The elaboration of the Master Plan for the Development of the Moscow Region Through 2010 is now coming to an end. Here emphasis is placed on the reliable socioeconomic substantiation of projects, the wide use of scientific and technical innovations, the practical introduction of the principles of the radical economic reform, and the democratization of production and all social relations. But the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and union and republic ministries must also face up to Moscow's problems.

Of course, there are problems which Muscovites have to and are obliged to resolve themselves, and not wait for someone else to do it. No special means or efforts are required for this. Take, for example, cleanliness in the city, the organization of transport operations, and the maintenance of the housing stock, the parks, and city reservoirs. This is where the soviets' new role and the Soviet people's civic stance must be manifested in full today. It is time to break the ingrained habits of waiting for instructions from above. This is why we are giving great rights to rayon soviets.

[Kazmin] Your reply contains facts attesting that the capital has begun to lag behind the provinces in terms of a number of important parameters of social provision. A great deal is being said about this today, but for some reason people's vital needs are left to one side, and yet it is for the sake of this that we are restructuring the economy, accelerating production rhythms, and seeking to implement the plans for scientific and technical progress more quickly. Readers write to PRAVDA: Do Moscow construction workers have sufficient resources to provide every family in the capital with a separate well appointed apartment by the year 2000? What ways are there to accelerate the resolution of this acute problem?

[Zaykov] The CPSU regards the provision of housing for Soviet people as a very important sociopolitical problem. The Moscow party organization also regards it from this viewpoint. It is an acute question: As of today, 1.34 million Muscovites need their housing conditions improved. This was why Moscow Gorispolkom submitted the draft city housing program for discussion by Muscovites, and their suggestions and wishes were studied carefully. A great deal was taken into account, particularly the urgent need to construct housing as a package with sociocultural projects. Life shows that we must not act otherwise, for then the problem will be half resolved and will entail new questions.

Is the task posed by the party of separate housing for every Moscow family by the year 2000 realistic and feasible? Yes, it is realistic and feasible, although very strenuous: Some 48.5 million square meters of housing is to be commissioned during the 12th-14th 5-Year Plans, or, in other words, the existing housing stock is to be increased by one-third!

In addition, up to 700,000 square meters of housing and a number of five-story building districts are to be modernized in the central part of the city alone, the pace of comprehensive capital repairs to blocks is to be increased, with communal apartments being replanned as separate ones, the volumes of construction of trade,

educational, and municipal service projects are to be increased substantially, and the city's utility networks are to be updated. The problem of modernizing the material base of health care is extremely urgent. The old Moscow hospitals and clinics, in which, incidentally, not only Muscovites are treated, are in need of capital reequipment.

It is, of course, impossible to resolve these tasks using the resources of the city's construction organizations alone. The construction capacities of ministries and the enterprises themselves must be involved in resolving them, and the own-resources method must be actively developed in construction. A great deal also depends on how the matter is organized and how the new structure of construction management in Moscow works.

We are setting the recently created city construction committee the task of better maneuvering labor and material resources and promoting the balanced development and coordination of cooperation among everyone involved in construction in the city, including those who do it using their own resources, with a view to creating a continuous technological cycle—from planning to commissioning projects—and, particularly importantly, accelerating the development of the construction industry's base.

There are also considerable reserves in the sphere of the distribution and use of living space. A great deal of disorder, red tape, and—there is no hiding the fact—abuses have accumulated in this system. We have begun instilling order here too. The raising of the level of the rayon link's independence presupposes the transfer to rayon soviets of the right to be in full control of the distribution of living space. This will make it possible to strictly observe the principles of social justice and to close the loopholes for those who try to obtain housing "by way of an exception."

[Kazmin] At the party conference delegates spoke with concern about the continuing strained situation in the supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods and the poor satisfaction of the public demand for various kinds of services. The capital is not setting the best example in this respect. Elementary things vanish from food and industrial goods stores. Moscow's trade leaders appear not to see the lines or the fact that spoiled produce lies on food store counters and that shortages still prevail. Salespeople also appear slovenly. Another problem—the cooperative public catering establishments which are opening are very expensive given our wages, although there are instances where cooperative workers buy food not in the market but in stores at cheap prices. How will these burning problems be resolved?

[Zaykov] I share both your concern at the state of affairs in the supply of basic goods to citizens and your indignation at the sluggishness and carelessness of certain trade workers and sometimes even simply their obvious interest in having as much muddle as possible and shortages of everything. This, I say, is one of the worst defects of the stagnation time, and it is not easy to eradicate it. But I can assure you that we are waging and will continue to wage a daily, hard, and painstaking struggle against this evil.

It is, of course, necessary to renew trade and public catering cadres and rid ourselves of unscrupulous, dishonest people. But much must also be done to develop this sector, and the necessary working conditions must be created here. The problems of supplying the city with food, above all fruit and vegetable produce, have been laid extremely bare this summer. Specific decisions have been needed at the highest level to instill the minimum order in organizing deliveries of greens from the country's republics, krays, and oblasts and in the work of fruit and vegetable associations and city trade. Today the supplying of Moscow has been entrusted directly to the union Agro-Industrial Committee, but so far this has, unfortunately, changed little.

It is the old trouble: Ivan points to Petr, who points to Ivan. But the chief thing is missing—an efficient system which permits no hiccups—and not enough leaders are aware of their personal responsibility and take practical measures to improve the situation. And party organs have once again been forced to fulfill incongruous control functions. The appropriate Moscow Gorispolkom services and the rayispolkoms await instructions from above in the old way instead of promptly rectifying the situation. Sometimes the result is piles of rotten vegetables on the damp, empty shelves in the stores, and fair complaints from Muscovites. Unfortunately, the matter is also complicated by the fact that many suppliers send poor-quality fruit and vegetable produce to Moscow. More than 10 percent is written off straightaway. It has been necessary to take emergency measures, institute proceedings against the guilty persons, and mobilize all resources. The situation regarding fruit and vegetables has now begun to improve. Thus, it is still possible to ensure that a single, orderly conveyor belt, in which the actions of rural working people, transport workers, and trade workers are clearly defined, extends from the field to the consumer.

Cooperative workers are called upon to make their contribution to resolving socioeconomic tasks. More than 1,300 cooperatives are now operating in Moscow. An exhibition of the products of Moscow cooperative workers working in the spheres of consumer goods production, consumer services, and public catering was held recently. The exhibits on display—furniture, clothes, footwear, confectionery, and much besides—showed the great potential of cooperatives in satisfying the Muscovites' urgent needs. Whereas last year they sold output and rendered services worth R12.8 million, since the beginning of this year they have been worth R66 million. But this is a drop in the bucket for a city with millions of residents. Scientists have calculated that 10,000-12,000 cooperatives of various kinds are needed to satisfy Moscow's needs. Of course, complexities of an

organizational nature and the shortage of premises for cooperatives must not be disregarded, but we will gradually overcome these difficulties as well.

Attaching exceptionally great significance to the development of the cooperative movement in the city, we examined its problems in the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau and outlined a specific action program. Helping cooperative workers, Moscow Gorispolkom is striving to do everything to ensure that their labor unites honest working people and not machinators who have decided to cobble together capital by means of various dodges.

I must say that questions of individual labor activity and the work of cooperatives today have to be discussed whenever you meet people. They are of concern to literally everyone. Discontent arises, above all, because of distortions in this matter. Cases of overt speculation and of the market being flooded with poor quality goods are coming to light. There is no proper control over this. Moreover, in some places ispolkoms have closed down state public catering establishments and opened expensive cooperative cafes and kabob houses in their place. They have distorted the very essence of the cooperative movement, which, by setting up in competition with the state sector, ought to stimulate an improvement in the quality of its work. Of course, this distortion is inadmissible. We are struggling implacably against these distortions. This includes stepping up control, enhancing exactingness toward officials, and setting up a mechanism to distribute market funds. We have the people to struggle against these shortcomings. Working people must take this matter into their own hands. Let us remember how militant and effective workers' control over the working of trade, the services sphere, and public catering used to be. Are the militia and the law-enforcement organs really not strong enough?

Much still has to be done to make the cooperative movement in the capital a fully equal part of Moscow's economy and to develop it in accordance with the recently adopted USSR Law on Cooperatives.

[Kazmin] It was once again emphasized at the all-union party conference that Soviet cultural figures must play a tremendous role in our society's socialist renewal. As is known, a considerable proportion of the country's intellectual potential is concentrated in Moscow. How do you assess the contribution of the capital's intelligentsia to restructuring?

[Zaykov] I believe the facts speak for themselves here. Over the years of restructuring Moscow writers, cinematographers, artists, architects, and masters of other kinds of art have repeatedly riveted—and are continuing to do so—truly nationwide attention with bold, nontraditional statements, publications, and exhibitions. They are doing a great deal to promote the emergence of an atmosphere of openness and freedom of creativity and debate. Of course, I would like to see greater results from the bubbling energy in literature, the theater, and the cinema. But, unfortunately, it is sometimes difficult to rid oneself of the impression that creative effort is expended too passionately on settling group and personal scores, on ambitious statements and pseudoinnovation.

It is also an important fact that the revolution of awareness is not confined just to creative unions and cultural, educational, and scientific organizations. More and more Muscovites, workers, engineers, and employees, are getting actively involved in work on interpreting history and the present, in amateur artistic creativity, and in the protection and restoration of priceless architectural monuments. I would say that the Russian intelligentsia, including that in the capital, more fully feels itself part of the people, as in the best periods of its development, derives innovative sentiments from them, and actively and fruitfully sows what is sensible, good, and eternal.

Alas, the material and technical base of science and culture and the condition of many historical and architectural monuments in the capital do not correspond to their role in the country's spiritual life. Who among us is not alarmed at the present state of the Tretyakov Gallery, the Bolshoy Theater, the Lenin Library, and so forth? Serious measures are being taken to rectify the situation, a program has been approved for the reconstruction of the historic center of Moscow, and specific plans are being drawn up to strengthen scientific institutes and ensure the comprehensive development of theaters and other cultural and educational establishments. Major capital investments have been allocated for these purposes, and the best specialists have been recruited. Scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences and masters of the arts are actively involved in implementing the city programs.

[Kazmin] I would consider the next question the most important. During the years of restructuring the party has cleansed itself of many people who have harmed it by their deeds and actions. Take the former leaders of Moscow trade, for example. What is being done for the purity of the Moscow city party organization's ranks? How are its cadre questions resolved? Are young Communists promoted? What is being done to erect a reliable barrier in the way of careerists, toadies, and scoundrels of every stripe?

[Zaykov] Lenin's conclusion that the crux of the matter is the selection of cadres and the verification of execution of adopted decisions is more topical than ever nowadays. Restructuring can be implemented only by relying on enterprising, creative people who are intolerant of inertia and stagnation and who have proved their ability to act by means of democratic methods. And, undoubtedly, who are competent and devoted to our cause. The conference decisions clearly state how to act in this area: Above all, democratization and glasnost in

party work must be developed in every possible way. Given such an approach, mistakes in cadre questions and in ensuring the purity of the party's ranks are virtually ruled out.

My personal opinion of the Moscow party workers with whom we are conducting restructuring today is this. I will state frankly that they are mostly people of lofty duty, well-trained, erudite, and energetic. The situation today is such that a very great deal of work has to be done together with them, and frequently regardless of personal time, which we sometimes simply do not have. This, too, must be known and understood.

What has appeared that is new? First and foremost, we have made admission to the party harder. Admissions are made in keeping with glasnost, and almost 90 percent of CPSU candidate members are admitted at open party meetings. The opinion of the labor collective is definitely taken into account when promoting someone to leading work, whether a Communist or a nonparty person. I must say that a number of leaders have been dismissed from their posts this year at the request of labor collective councils. They include secretaries of party organizations.

Of course, party committees are finding it more complex to work with cadres. Secrecy, favoritism, and the advancement of those "convenient to the chiefs" are now getting through with increasing difficulty. But we will ensure that they are totally eliminated from our life, along with red tape, communist arrogance, subservience, and immodesty. The process of the party's self-purification has only just begun. And it will not happen suddenly, at once. I would only like to point out that we must not arrange cadre "leapfrogging" or allow distortions that could dramatically change people's destinies.

Work with cadres does not tolerate bustle, rash assessments, or hasty conclusions. The conditions must be created so that a person can reveal his abilities in full. And if he stumbles, he must be given an opportunity to reform. Only not by transferring him from one leading post to another. We seek to resolve cadre questions in a timely and well thought-out way, and we give preference to young, energetic Communists. Today almost half the party raykom workers and one-fifth of the party committee and party bureau secretaries released are younger than 35. We will continue to pursue the policy of promoting young people, strictly following Lenin's advice: A sensible combination of young and experienced cadres can ensure the success of the matter.

[Kazmin] Since the party conference Communists and all Soviet people, including PRAVDA readers, have been more acutely raising questions of the development of internal party democracy. What is being done in the city party organization in this respect? Are you satisfied today with the work standard of its primary links, and what must be rectified in order to enhance their activeness?

[Zaykov] Allow me to begin with an example. At the time of the election of a new party bureau in a shop party organization of one of "Zelenogradstroy's" construction administrations, worker A.A. Pronin nominated his candidacy as deputy secretary. He was supported and elected to that post. In the city organization 6,500 party group organizers have been elected from a choice of two or more candidates. Nonparty comrades are participating increasingly frequently in the nomination and discussion of candidacies.

As we see, the processes are new. And they do, of course, need to be not just comprehended but studied in depth. The Party Work Method Council recently set up under the Moscow CPSU Gorkom has done useful work together with the Moscow Higher Party School on studying public opinion on the role of primary organizations in restructuring the life of labor collectives. We hope that the generalized results of that investigation will be a practical aid to the work of raykoms and primary organizations.

Restructuring and the democratization process must, above all, become deeply rooted in the party's basic link—the primary organizations—so, as you yourself understand, there is a vast amount of work to be done here. It is necessary to enhance their independence, help to get rid of petty tutelage and regimentation from above, strengthen the prestige of elected organs and secretaries, and see to it that people straighten up and rid themselves of apathy, passiveness, and lack of faith in themselves—of everything that wounded their souls during the stagnation years.

The modern party worker must persistently learn to listen to his opponent's arguments and respect his opinion. In this sense the conference was an invaluable lesson in democratism and genuine comradeship for all of us.

In accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum, the restructuring of the party apparatus has begun in the city organization, as throughout the party, and its accountability to the elected organ is being restored in full. We are getting away from the sectoral subdivision of the apparatus and reducing the number of its subdepartments. We have submitted to the CPSU Central Committee proposals on the Moscow Gorkom's new structure. We proceed here from the premise that it must be flexible and be restructured according to the tasks being resolved by the party at a specific stage of building. At the same time, we are strengthening the soviets with regard to their new role in the political system.

The implementation of the strategy elaborated by the conference is the task of every Communist. However, the impression is sometimes formed that some people interpret its resolutions too broadly and, in individual cases, even arbitrarily. This does not tally with the principles of democratic centralism. The party statutes do not give a

Communist—whether a leader or a worker, a scientific or a creative working person—nor you journalists the right to tolerate nonparty views, still less to propagate them.

Unfortunately, such examples, which have nothing in common with communist morality, are encountered in various regions and here in Moscow. The revolutionary wave of restructuring has thrown up onto the crest of events not only talented and honest leaders of the masses, innovators, and efficient organizers, but also leftist demagogues and ambitious idlers. They are not helpers but disorganizers of restructuring. It is an alarming fact that a principled assessment sometimes is not made of their actions. The socialist diversity of opinions and the democratization of internal party life are inalienable elements of restructuring. But they do not do away with either party discipline or the concept of the party as an alliance of ideological confederates and active comrades in the struggle to implement the adopted—I emphasize, adopted—decisions. There was a very sharp discussion of all these questions at the Central Committee July Plenum that has just been held.

Now that the battle for restructuring has gotten under way, the unity of the party's ranks and the unity of the party and the people is more important than ever. I have in mind not the faded slogans that we have rightly taken down from the roofs but the state of mind, the mood of millions of people, without which we cannot count on success in renewing socialism and our whole life.

Ryzhkov Notes Statisticians' Anniversary

PM0908144088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Soviet statisticians on their anniversary: "To Soviet Statisticians"]

[Text] It was 70 years ago—25 July 1918—that the Soviet Government adopted the Decree on State Statistics. This historic document, signed by V.I. Lenin, defined the organizational foundations of statistics organs and their tasks in the socialist state.

In the years of soviet power a ramified network of statistics organizations has been set up and continues to function. These organizations are equipped with modern computer technology and make use of the latest achievements in the sphere of statistical science.

The 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum set the responsible task of radically improving statistical work in the country, restructuring it in line with the demands of radical economic reform, and stepping up the role of statistics organs in the system of leadership of the national economy.

Statistics are called upon to deepen the all-around study of the transformations taking place in our country, economic and social processes, and the course of the restructuring of the management system and the introduction of the new economic mechanism, and to help identify available reserves for increasing the efficiency of social production. Statistics must provide reliable information in good time to party, soviet, management, and economic organs, scientific research centers, and the broad public. Particular significance, in the conditions of the development of socialist democracy and the involvement of the working people in the management of state affairs, is attached to the all-around widening of glasnost in statistical information and the implementation of Lenin's precept—to take statistics to the masses.

I wish all workers in Soviet statistics successes in improving and radically renewing statistical work in the USSR and in fulfilling the tasks set by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

N. Ryzhkov

Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Maslyukov Attends Jubilee

PM0908144288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "In Honor of the Jubilee"]

[Text] How to accelerate restructuring in work to turn statistics into an effective instrument of efficient, planned management and increase glasnost of information was discussed at a ceremonial meeting to mark the jubilee of Soviet state statistics. It was held in Moscow on 8 August.

The greetings message from N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Soviet statisticians was read out by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan.

Taking part in the meeting were V.P. Mozhin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Economics Department, leaders of ministries and departments, scientists, production frontrunners, and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations of the capital, as well as leaders of statistics organizations from a number of socialist and developing countries.

A report was delivered by M.A. Korolev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

Baklanov, Gusev Attend Moscow Festive Meeting
LD0508204788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] A festive meeting was held in Moscow today dedicated to Railwaymen's Day. In the Presidium were Comrade Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Comrade Pasternak, head of a CPSU Central Committee Department. USSR Railways Minister Konarev delivered a report.

Baklanov, Others Visit Design Bureau
PM1008100188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "More Attention to Automation"]

[Excerpts] One promising avenue for increasing production efficiency is the widespread introduction of rotary and rotary conveyor lines which can operate with equal success in machine building, the food and medical industries, the production of consumer goods, and other sectors, ensuring the comprehensive automation of manufacturing processes and a considerable increase in labor productivity. A leading place in performing this work is occupied by the automated lines design bureau—the head enterprise of the intersectorial "Rotor" scientific and technical complex in Klimovsk, Moscow Oblast. O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited this enterprise near Moscow 5 August.

Academician L.N. Koshkin, general director of the intersectorial scientific and technical complex, described the complex' work in further expanding the use of rotary technology, developing the necessary design laboratory and production base, and elaborating and introducing new types of rotary lines. [passage omitted]

With O.D. Baklanov were B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology; USSR Ministers P.V. Finogenov, V.G. Kolesnikov, N.A. Panichev, and V.A. Bykov; and other party and economic leaders.

'Radical Improvement' Needed
LD0508213288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Comrade Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today visited the Design Bureau for Automated Transfer Lines of the head enterprise of the rotor inter-industry scientific and technical complex, which is in Klimovsk in Moscow Oblast.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary inspected a functioning production unit for mass items, which is comprehensively automated on the basis of rotary conveyor lines, and acquainted himself with examples of new equipment. Attention was drawn to the impermissibility of taking lengthy periods in the development of this progressive equipment. The development workers were sharply criticized for their slowness in creating rotary lines and the appropriate equipment for the manufacture of one-time use medical syringes, which are so necessary in health care.

In his conversation with workers, engineers, and technicians Comrade Baklanov showed an interest in the progress of restructuring, how the food, social, and consumer issues are being tackled and what is being done in the collective to implement the decisions of the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

In a final conversation with the management and specialists of the chief design bureau, the need was stressed for a radical improvement in the work of the rotor complex. Practical measures were mapped out to ensure the fulfillment of its set tasks. The task was posed of accelerating the solution of urgent problems in respect to the collective's social development.

Baklanov, Biryukova Visit Industrial Show
PM1008112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visit to an Exhibition"]

[Text] Increasing output of high-quality light industry goods and filling the market with them depend to a considerable extent on the supply of highly productive modern equipment and technology for this important national economic sector. At the representative international exhibition "Equipment and Production Processes in Light Industry," which has opened in Moscow, more than 650 firms and organizations from 23 countries are displaying new goods. There is an extensive section containing exhibits by Soviet scientific and production collectives.

On 3 and 6 August the exhibition was visited by CPSU Central Committee Secretaries O.D. Baklanov and A.P. Biryukova.

In the Soviet pavilion they familiarized themselves with the latest achievements of Soviet machine building in the sphere of creating new-generation equipment for light industry whose purpose is to sharply increase productivity and improve the quality of the goods produced. Great interest was displayed in exhibits by the CEMA countries and in equipment exhibited by capitalist firms demonstrating a high level of computerization of machinery and technology.

During the tour of the exhibition there was a lively exchange of opinions with leaders of ministries and departments on the use of advanced ideas and solutions geared to making equipment for light industry more

effective. In conversations with specialists and representatives of industrial and business circles, confidence was expressed in the further deepening and improvement of mutually advantageous cooperation in the technological and economic spheres.

USSR Ministers B.M. Belousov, V.A. Bykov, L.B. Vasilyev, E.K. Pervyshin, P.V. Finogenov, and V.I. Shimko and other party and economic leaders participated in the tour of the exhibition.

Khrushchev Defended; Began 'Current Renewal'
PM0908154088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 31, 31 Jul 88 p 2

[D.Sc. (History) Grigoriy Fedorov article: "How Shall We Assess Khrushchev?"]

[Text] The article "1953-1964: Why Reform Didn't Work Then" by Yuriy Levada and Viktor Sheynis ("MN" No 18) about the first attempts to de-Stalinize Soviet society contained a number of correct and profound thoughts. But I would disagree with these two respected scholars in a few places.

Levada and Sheyni's claim Khrushchev's "steps forward were faltering; his initiatives were never followed through.... More than anything else, the reforms were ruined by the manner in which they were carried out and their limited results—as compared with people's expections".

Undoubtedly, some reforms were not carried out consistently and the methods used were administrative. But can this be said of all reforms at the time of the first thaw? Definitely not. A number of reforms were solidly implemented and fully met people's expectations: the elimination of all forms of secret reprisals without trials, the "trials by three", the "special conferences" and so on. With all the imperfection of the new judicial legislation and the new criminal code, our country was turning into a law-governed state.

Pension reform. Before Khrushchev, pensions were nominal—more symbolic. The pension reform embraced tens of millions of people and made a fairly good, although modest, existence possible for them.

Housing reform. The mass-scale housing construction launched under Khrushchev made it possible at least for those joining housing cooperatives to receive a flat. The prices for cooperative flats were at that time quite moderate.

Peasant reform. Before Khrushchev, peasants, because of incredible requisitions and taxes, were reduced to a miserable existence. Peasants lived like serfs. As a result of the reform, peasants began to live better and were able to go from one farm and district to another, to move to the city, to have an internal passport. There were inconsistencies and mistakes in agricultural management, but the radical reform still produced positive results.

Other necessary reforms were also put through—consistently and effectively.

As for the authors' references to planting corn close to the Polar Circle, these tales are spread by those who hate Khrushchev. But plantings of corn in temperate zones, started for the first time under Khrushchev, were and are economically successful. I live in Klimovsk, in the Moscow Region. Many fields around this town are still being planted with corn and yield fine cattle feed. People of the older generation surely remember canned maize—delicious, nutrious and inexpensive. The dismissal of Khrushchev also meant the disappearance of canned corn.

How shall we assess Khrushchev?

With all his shortcomings and inconsistencies, Khrushchev generally acted in the interests of the country and the people. He accomplished a real feat risking not only his political career but also his life when he ventured to dethrone Stalin and exonerate millions of innocent people, dead and alive. He acted while surrounded by Stalinists. Unlike now, there was no one else then in the higher echelons of power. Moreover, Khrushchev himself was from Stalin's entourage and he, Khrushchev, had to first conquer Stalinism in himself, which he was trying to do, and then to fight against other Stalinists, creating conditions, cadres and traditions without which the current renewal would have been impossible. Khrushchev was a real leader, an icebreaker opening up the way for a convoy of ships.

Radio Program Omits Mention of MOSCOW NEWS
PM1008113088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 31, 31 Jul 88 p 4

[Viktor Tsoppi article: "Order or Opinion? How 'MN' Was Taken Off the Air"]

[Text] For several years I have participated with pleasure in the Sunday radio programme "Round Table of Commentators on World Affairs." The most recent programme was on July 17th.

It was recorded that Friday. My good friend Igor Charikov, the host (and also a journalist), began by presenting the round-table participants: "Among those participating are Viktor Tsoppi, analyst from the weekly MOSCOW NEWS, and Aleksey Grigoryev, deputy editor-in-chief of the magazine EKHO PLANETY (ECHO OF THE PLANET)." In short, the programme in which we three participated was recorded, and we left the studio.

On the appointed day and hour I tuned to radio station number one. The announcer said, "You are listening to the programme "Round Table of Commentators on World Affairs." Participating in the discussion are world affairs journalists Viktor Tsoppi and Aleksey Grigoryev.

The host is USSR Radio's world affairs commentator Igor Charikov." The names of the publications for which Aleksey and I worked had vanished, along with the "posts" we hold.

"How come we turn out to be sort of 'homeless' and 'unemployed'?" Grigoryev asked me with bewilderment over the phone.

"Alesha," I replied, "maybe your rather young magazine EKHO PLANETY is not yet authoritative enough to be mentioned over Moscow's main radio station, and my MOSCOW NEWS 'fell victim to symmetry'? Remember, at one time when portraits of Stalin stopped being put up, portraits of Engels disappeared as well. There used to be four classics, and only two remained 'for symmetry'...."

"I remember, but I think that the 'victim of symmetry' is our ECHO, which has not yet sounded loudly enough: It has simply not yet had enough time to discredit itself in the eyes of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. As for your paper, I wouldn't answer for that."

I decided to call Charikov.

"What happened?"

Silence. Then he let the words fall heavily into the receiver:

"It wasn't my decision. You heard how during the recording I presented you both in the way we usually do here...I can't tell you anything more."

I stopped tormenting him with further questions and called Anatoliy Bolgarev, chief editor of the news department. He is a long-standing friend of mine and together we'd started our careers as commentators on world affairs in Radio Moscow's World Service. He said:

"Our editors have mixed up everything. Don't be upset. And, what's most important, don't draw any final conclusions from this about yourself personally. Drop in and we'll talk it over."

I dropped in, and we talked for about an hour. From the very start the chief editor disarmed me with his unaffected frankness. Therefore, I shall not give an account of our private conversation. It wouldn't be "comradely".

But I'll tell you this. Anatoliy Bolgarev openly said that the decision to remove all mention of MOSCOW NEWS and EKHO PLANETY was his personal one: For some time there has existed an opinion that the attitude towards MOSCOW NEWS should be one of vigilance, and that it's better not to quote it even in the reviews of weeklies, as used to be always done. For that reason he decided not even to make mention of my newspaper's name. The high-placed people whom the chief editor consulted with had nothing against this decision....

This is basically the whole story. As it turned out, it was not the fault of EKHO PLANETY. But I can't help thinking: Who stands to gain from "excommunicating" some of the mass media and "kowtowing" to others? Who needs it? Whose order or opinion is it—as it used to be during days gone by—to create new "zones of silence" and declare, during the epoch of glasnost, some names "not fit to name"? Who so badly wants to divide the mass media into the "clean" and the "unclean"?

Viktor Tsoppi, "MN" analyst

P.S. On Sunday July 24, I switched my radio on at the same time and to the same station. The announcer said: "...participating are Boris Pyadyshev, member of the Foreign Ministry Collegium, editor-in-chief of INTERNATIONAL LIFE magazine, and Vitaliy Chukseyev, member of the Board of the Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet Union and chief editor of their information department...." No "world affairs journalists" here....

Reader Wants 'Penalty' for Corrupt Leaders

PM0908091488 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 6 Aug 88 p 7

[Letter from Major General of Justice (retired) L. Kryuchkov on "The Reader Proposes, Protests, Polemicizes" page: "Who Is Protecting Them?"]

[Text] I cannot help responding to the writer Daniil Granin's article "Whom Are We Hiding? Why?", published in your newspaper on 21 June. This very question gives me no rest.

The breakthrough of glasnost and democracy exposed dozens of people who were at the helm of state and party power and were engaging in embezzlement, cultivating toadies and bribe-takers, and preventing honest people from combating this evil. The author names among them such odious individuals as Kunayev, Bodyul, Medunov, and Adylov. They are rightly numbered in the same category. Their names are often anathematized on television and in the press. But what comes of it? Nothing changes. Their degree of responsibility varies. The end result of Adylovism is well known. The others emerged from the dirty water dry, with their old, undeserved gold stars, with their Orders of Lenin on their chests, without party reprimands, without having to answer for actions for which other citizens are subjected to criminal proceedings.

I often have to deal with people. In May of this year alone, on trips organized by the All-Union "Znaniye" Society, I delivered lectures for the workers on sovkhozes and kolkhozes of the Saratov Volga region and Western Kazakhstan more than 20 times. The audience was not

passive, as it used to be in earlier years. Among the many questions were these: Why have Kunayev, Bodyul, and Medunov not been called to account? Why not, indeed?

But paradoxically, I can sense that people do not really believe me when, answering this question, I tell them that once a month Medunov sits with me at a party meeting in the party organization of the DOSAAF Raykom in Moscow's Gagarinskiy Rayon. He has suffered no party penalty for what he did. He himself says that after his removal from the post of first secretary of Krasnodar party kraykom, his friends found him a place as a deputy union minister and installed him in a Council of Ministers apartment in a top class apartment block in the southwest of the capital. And after the ministry was abolished, he became a personal pensioner at union level. He wears the Hero's Star without embarrassment. When he is asked why he suffered no party penalty and what he thinks about the criticism of him in the press, Medunov replies with indignation, in the voice of a former dictator: "It is all lies!" And he pours out abuse of the authors of the publications and the press organs that allowed themselves to publish these "fairy stories." Medunov particularly disliked Arkadiy Vaksberg's article "A Prosecutor's Life" in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. The audience usually listens attentively, but I can see from their eyes that they do not believe me. But why is someone protecting him, Medunov?

L. Kryuchkov,

Major General of Justice (retired),

CPSU member since 1939. Moscow.

Amnesty Requested for Imprisoned 'Believers'
PM1008114688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Commission's Appeal"]

[Text] The public commission for international cooperation on humanitarian questions and human rights under the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation has submitted an appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The document says: The celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of the coming of Christianity to Russia was for our country and all the progressive forces of the world a great event not only in religious terms, but also in sociopolitical terms. The Soviet Union's leadership gave a high assessment of the patriotic, peace-making, and humanist activity of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as of the religious organizations of other faiths operating in the USSR. It was also rightly noted that the vast majority of believers have accepted restructuring and make a considerable contribution to the implementation of the country's socioeconomic development plans. All this testifies to the new approach to state-church relations in the era of restructuring and democratization of Soviet society.

In these conditions the public commission deemed it possible to submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium a request to review the question of the fate of the few Soviet citizens who have been called to account or are still serving sentences following verdicts of the people's courts for violating legislation on freedom of conscience. It seems to us that today these people no longer represent any social danger to our society. We believe it would be an act of great humane significance to forgive them. This decision, it seems to us, will be greeted with satisfaction both by Soviet people and by the numerous foreign public organizations that advocate the development of international cooperation on humanitarian questions and in the sphere of human rights in the spirit of the recommendations of the CSCE Final Act.

The commission petitions the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to declare, in connection with the 1,000th anniversary of the coming of Christianity to Russia, an amnesty for persons convicted or subjected to criminal proceedings under Articles 142 and 227 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and equivalent articles in the criminal codes of other union republics.

Novosibirsk Church Celebration Reported
LD0708153788 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Novosibirsk August 7 TASS—The gilt domes of the renewed Ascension Church have decorated the central part of Novosibirsk. A ceremony of its consecration after the restoration held today is a highlight in the programme of celebration of the millennium of Christianity in Russia at the Novosibirsk diocese.

Deeds of many devotees, who carried to "unknown lands" the light of literacy, book culture and moral values, were reflected in Siberian pages of the history of the Russian Orthodox church, dating back to the Yermak campaign times. The diocese's peace-making efforts, its contributions to the Novosibirsk branch of the Soviet cultural fund are continuing these traditions, a TASS correspondent has been told by Metropolitan Gedeon of Novosibirsk and Barnaul.

At the celebration ceremony, member of the synod, Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia read out a message from Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All-Russia. A conference on the history of the church and a jubilee concert were held. Wreaths were laid to historic monuments. A divine liturgy and a church service were delivered and a procession with cross was held.

Artists Union Official on Cultural 'Gendarme'
LD0608130688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1505 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Video talk by A.I. Morozov, secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Artists, entitled "Following the Course of the 19th Party Conference"]

[Excerpts] We are at present, it seems, passing through quite a crucial moment. [passage omitted] Residents of Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Kiev, and Riga have in recent months seen many things which they were not able to see at our exhibitions in previous years. I have gained the following interesting impression. At the Youth Palace here in Moscow, not so long ago, an exhibition of so-called informal associations opened. I'm not saying that it contains outstanding masterpieces or discoveries of historical significance. But just imagine. Twenty-seven informal associations had, in literally a matter of weeks and without any additional money for orders for artists' works or as payment for their works, assembled a huge exhibition. When I was at the exhibition I was struck most of all by the strength of people's desires to make their own art and to express themselves through art in their own language, and by the number of such people that there are. It seems to me that today such a desire is more than natural. We must bear in mind that even a few months ago such an exhibition would have been impossible. [passage omitted]

Our colleagues in the Union of Artists have for a long time suffered from a particular disease: We argue a very great deal about what art should and should not be. We argue a very great deal about faith, about how to have faith in artistic culture. Is it not time for us to build the edifice of our faith and to organize this edifice of the artistic environment? Effective action is needed for this, not talk. This talk, aside from pushing our energetic activity into the background, is still also such that it turns out to be very difficult to unite mutually exclusive stances. It is very difficult to find agreement, and this is very, very alarming. Claims to a monopoly in creative thinking occur. There is a constant tug-of-war between one camp and another, and this frequently paralyzes the artistic process. We cannot today say that some particular type of art is the only art that people need, and another is not. We must realize that there are as many views of what is beautiful, vivid, and substantive in a work of art, in artistic activity and artists, and there are as many individual requirements on our part, as there are people. And above all, this spectrum must be allowed to find practical embodiment. [passage omitted]

You only need attend an exhibition displaying works which are not quite comprehensible to some. Before long, many angry letters of protest ensue, demands are made to cancel the show, close it, take it off. There are shouts: Enemy! Unacceptable! One meets this at every step. It seems to me that this is the result of the very serious damage done to our culture and our consciousness, damage which has been done over a very, very long period of time. I believe that there is a combination here of several different layers in mankind's historical consciousness. One of them is some sort of atavistic intolerance, existing inside us from time immemorial, toward alien faiths, an inability to listen to the opinion of others, to feel empathy with and calmly share other people's thoughts. When reading the press, the papers, and the accounts of the political trials at the end of the thirties, one is shocked by the language used, a language that degraded human dignity, insulted people, dragged them through the mire. Unfortunately, we abused this language in our ideological confrontations for decades. I believe that as a result we inculcated in people this inability to calmly, independently, and thoughtfully adopt their cultural stance. In my view, this has started to act as a very serious brake in artistic life, in perceptions about art. The policeman has departed from artistic life, but regrettably some sort of gendarme continues frequently to inhabit our ordinary everyday awareness, our attitudes to questions of culture and art. This is a most serious problem. My talk today is quite insufficient to solve it. An enormous process of cultural re-education is needed to overcome it. [passage omitted]

Lipetsk Paper Publishes Pollution Data
PM0908144588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Komov report: "Countering Rumors"]

[Text] Lipetsk—A section has appeared in the Lipetsk Oblast newspaper entitled "The Air We Breathed in July," which provides for oblast residents detailed, objective information on the level of air pollution and compares it with the previous month.

Special attention is given to the average monthly levels in the region of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine, the "Svobodnyy Sokol" Metallurgical Plant, and the pipe and tractor plants. This kind of information is putting an end to rumors and conjecture and forcing the leaders of enterprises to take more vigorous action under public pressure.

Foreign Ministry Organ Open for Subscription
PM0908140388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Available on Subscription for the First Time"]

[Text] This year for the first time the Main Administration for the Distribution of Printed Matter is allowing institutions and organizations to subscribe to the USSR Foreign Ministry's VESTNIK for 1989.

This publication is the USSR Foreign Ministry's official organ. The VESTNIK reader will be able to acquaint himself with the work calendar of the Soviet foreign policy department, up-to-date information on current

events in the country's foreign policy, reports on briefings and news conferences, and also with documents hitherto unpublished. Many of the most important foreign policy documents, including speeches by leaders of the USSR Foreign Ministry, can only be read in VESTNIK.

The journal is a good aid for diplomats, people working in scientific institutions and the social science departments of higher academic establishments, journalists and international affairs specialists, lecturers, people working in libraries, and activists employed in the political and economic education system—everyone who has an interest in questions of our state's foreign policy.

The journal is published twice monthly. The annual subscription rate is R24.

Siberia 'Dumping Ground' for Criminals
PM0708171588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[First part of three-part article by special correspondent Leonid Shinkarev: "The Zone. Following the Old Road to Siberia"]

[Text] When even trivial new facts become public knowledge, they make us look into questions which would not have even crossed our minds previously. Siberians, for example, are pondering a detail announced by USSR Internal Affairs Minister A. Vlasov in issue No 5 of the journal KOMMUNIST (1988). It appears that the crime rate per 100,000 population in Siberia is four times that in the Transcaucasus. Could it be that the hereditary inhabitants of the taiga, formerly renowned for their self-control, have now lost their nerve and are reaching for the shotgun at the slightest excuse? Various assumptions can be made, but it is hard to discard the idea that the moral decline which is being observed today is just one consequence of the dark 400-year history of Siberian exile.

Even though the best minds of the state were sent to Siberia at different times, and even though the cream of the country, thousands upon thousands of innocent people, were sent there more recently, in Stalin's time, a sober examination of the past obliges us to recall that inveterate criminals—murderers, robbers, violent criminals, persistent thieves—were constantly washed onto Siberian shores by those same waves.... Once released and having become even more hardened, many of them were absorbed into Siberian society, stepping up the tensions within it year by year. Is today's rise in crime not conditioned by this continuing concentration of wild, uncontrollable, socially dangerous, and often mentally deranged people in the eastern regions?

"Yes, that is something to think about," Minister A. Vlasov said in reply to my assumptions.

Let us think about it together.

Correctional labor colonies, educational labor colonies for minors, educational labor rehabilitation centers for vagrants, beggars, and parasites, occupational therapy rehabilitation centers for alcoholics and drug addicts, colonies, settlements, and special detention centers [spetskomendatura] stretch on both sides of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. They are not visible from the train windows, they are out of sight, but are certainly talked about.

Until 1956 these were islands belonging to the NKVD (MVD) Camps Main Administration (Gulag). Today they are under the jurisdiction of the USSR MVD Correctional Affairs Main Administration (GUID). "The new system is fundamentally different from the Gulag system. Our correctional labor institutions are subordinate to the MVD and local soviet ispolkoms and are run in accordance with the law. A person can be sent to a place of deprivation of freedom only by the court, not by 'triumvirates,' 'special sessions,' or other extrajudicial organs. Different cadres are joining our work now, but the crimes of the thirties are still alive in people's memories and this continues to have an effect on our reputation," IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told by Lieutenant General of the Internal Services I. Katargin, chief of the GUID.

To start our discussion let us single out the geographical aspect from the numerous aspects of today's correctional labor system: Why Siberia of all places?

Even though convicts have been sent to the eastern regions since time immemorial, there have been considerable fluctuations in the scale on which this has been done. The RSFSR Correctional Labor Code (1971) provided that those sentenced to deprivation of freedom for the first time could serve their sentence in the place where sentence was passed. After that, those sent to Siberia were basically people serving repeat sentences....

This went on for 15 years: Only inveterate criminals were sent to Siberia. But the Fundamentals of Correctional Labor Legislation were amended in 1987. Briefly speaking, it was once more allowed to send people to Siberia, the Far North, and the Far East for any crimes, including first offenses, "for the purpose of more successful correction and re-education."

In reality, this step had to be taken mainly because the shaven-headed population in the east compensates for workforce shortages.

A stream of different convicts is once again joining inveterate criminals on the way to Siberia, taking comfort in the explanation that the long journey has been prescribed to them apparently for their own benefit, for the purpose of "more successful correction...."

But is this really the objective pursued by the traditional means which are applied from the very first days of the long journey?

Yushkov, sentenced for fraud, spent 4 months traveling in a special railroad car from Semipalatinsk to Krasnoyarsk. He lay side by side with other convicts on plank beds in the special car, which had been divided into compartments. During stops at Barnaul, Novosibirsk, Achinsk, and Minusinsk the guards led them out of the car and into transit jails. They spent weeks waiting to continue their onward journey, languishing in their padded jackets on the concrete floor.

We met in Krasnoyarsk's No 6 Correctional Labor Colony, on the right bank of the Yenisey River, in a dormitory with two-tier bunks. I saw before me an emaciated man, shaking with a racking cough. "I was exhausted by the journey," Yushkov choked on his words. "There is nothing worse than this journey."

Externally the special cars in which convicts are transported are no different from the green passenger cars you usually see at railroad platforms. But if you take a closer look through the frosted glass, you will notice the iron bars. I was allowed to go inside one such car at a station. A metal mesh separates the narrow corridor from compartments with iron doors and heavy bolts. The compartments are designed for 5-9 persons, but whenever there is an "overflow" of convicts (as the escorts would say), 15-20 persons are crammed inside each compartment. Neighboring compartments are at times occupied by minors and women. You name it and they hear it from the habitual criminals, you name it and they see it through the bars on the doors. Voices can be heard along the corridor at night over the clicking of the wheels: "Anyone from Vologda?!" "No, our lot is from Ivanovo, Perm, Tambov!"

The actual journey to Siberia, which can take months, turns into a real hell for the first offenders who are left at the mercy of either their inveterate traveling companions or of guards who at times get drunk at stations. While at the No 3 Correctional Labor Colony in Irkutsk I met three former MVD Internal Troops sergeants—Motorin, Soplyakov, and Strakh—who were sentenced for having tortured seven boys aged 11 and 12 while escorting them to a special school. They forced the children to jump up as soon as their escorts appeared, to salute them, and to shout "Yes, Sir!" in response to their abuse; whenever the kids did this clumsily, the three guards applied their sticks and beat the children until they dropped. "We are only partially guilty," all three of them complained to me about their sentences (two were given 7 years each, the other 6 years), bearing in mind the mitigating circumstances: The children had survived.

The "consignments" are frequently housed in Siberia's prerevolution jails. These are the remand detention centers [sledstvennyy izolyator], usually housing those under investigation or awaiting trial. In their resignation, these people are noticeably different from their traveling companions who have already been sentenced and know their own worth. The tone is set by the repeat offenders. The "first-timers" (newcomers), and the women and adolescents who at times share their fate for crimes of recklessness, manage to gain "experience" while on "consignment," to copy from former inmates the slang and behavior patterns based on the idea that nobody will help you if you do not stand up for yourself.

But how do you separate them, how do you give them attention, seeing that "transit people" in the thousands pass through such detention centers in Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, and Omsk on their journey from other regions.

Even our forebears noted with alarm that Siberian society's social structure and formerly solid foundations were being deformed under the effects of exile. "Its population being swelled by people lacking firm moral beliefs, Tomsk Guberniya and Siberia as a whole is more likely than any other land to be the scene of offenses and crimes. Generally speaking, the exiles have a most adverse effect on the people's morality...." (N. Yadrintsev, 1882). During the last century Siberia started surpassing other localities in terms of crime. Statistics show that this was due mainly to exiled criminals.

The Siberian population today bears the heavy burden of the unceasing transportation of criminal elements from all over the country to Siberia and the overall complexity of the crime-conducive situation. People in many places live in fear. And not without reason. Residents of Achinsk remember the seventies, when the city had to host all at once about 7,000 conditionally released and conditionally sentenced persons who had been assembled there to build an alumina plant. They created mass disturbances which cost many human lives.

The residents of Sayansk (population 45,000) are fed up with living in a state of permament worry for their children and relatives, meeting in the streets hundreds of people released from colonies who are strolling through the city bearing the stamp of the place of deprivation of freedom where they have spent 5-6 years—half the term of their sentence. And if the local authority organs cannot guarantee the citizens' safety, what interests can be used to justify the trials they have to put up with?

For example, convicts from 42 oblasts and krays are brought to Irkutsk Oblast even now. Bashkiriya and Astrakhan, Vladimir, Tula, Tambov, Penza, and other oblasts are "attached" to Irkutsk's No 6 Correctional Labor Colony alone. Several hundred convicts arrived in the colony last year from 16 of these oblasts. Half of the inmates in the No 6 Women's Correctional Labor Colony near Irkutsk are not Siberian. Thousands of convicts from Moscow, Leningrad, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, and Kirghizia arrived in Krasnoyarsk Kray in 1987 to work on national economic construction sites. One-third of the new arrivals were thieves, the remainder were hooligans, embezzlers of state property, and others. The Omsk Oblast correctional labor colony also houses convicts from European regions. The newcomers often escape, especially from national economic construction sites, and searches have to be mounted for the

escapees. This builds up tensions in the Siberian cities and countryside. The concentration of the criminal world in Siberia has already produced its effect by bringing down the population's overall moral standards.

There used to be no drug addicts among Siberians. But someone had the idea of siting a colony for people sentenced for drug-related crimes in the east of the country. The intention was to uproot drug addicts from their familiar surroundings and thus put an end to bribes and secret trafficking. After all, there are no poppy plantations in Siberia.

As soon as the drug addicts were congregated in Omsk, they were followed by their relatives and pals with big money and drug supplies. Attempts started being made to bribe militia and internal services staffers. Contacts between newly arrived southerners and local residents became more frequent. Even though some 100 drug addicts were assembled in the specialized interoblast hospital, this hardly cleared them away from their native region, say Krasnodar Kray. It only enabled the calamity to conquer new territories.

I recall how, starting in 1961, vagrants and prostitutes from everywhere were sent off to the east of the country. The hope was that the women would get used to milking cows and would boost the lagging agriculture in Siberia's villages. Their shock labor somehow never made the news. It was not enthusiasm with which they infected the Siberians.

So why is Siberia still serving as a jail?

The advocates of siting places for deprivation of freedom in the east of the country repeat an argument which they see as economically substantiated. The European regions already have a manpower surplus. This surplus will only increase with the transition to new forms of economic management. Where is the healthy and able-bodied "special contingent" to be sent if not to areas of industrial development?

Young people's detachments, with public opinion focused on them, were called upon to make their way to Siberia in parallel with the underground and invisible stream of convicts. They were sent off with flowers and bands. Construction sites were proclaimed "Komsomol-sponsored" and the young emissaries were dubbed "trailblazers" without any embarrassment that people have been living in those regions since time immemorial, and it was those people who would bear the brunt of the new industrial rayons.

Planning organs found it advantageous to site productive forces in the east not only because of the region's natural wealth but also because they silently calculated on the cheap labor force provided by convicts. Satisfied with 2 square meters of living area per person (this is the norm in correctional labor colonies), they relieved departments of the need to establish a ramified social infrastructure and build sufficient quantities of housing, schools, and kindergartens. I was told in Omsk: An investment of R20 million is needed to attract and settle 1,000 workers and their families. But if they are replaced by "conditionals" from special detention centers, this works out 20 times cheaper for the departments.

The "special contingent" also relieves the ministries of the need to deliver highly productive equipment to Siberia and the Far East. Either totally or partially lacking such equipment, the departments force four or five people to do work which could be done by just one person using such machinery. Of course, you will never have enough people in Siberia with this kind of organization of labor. Hence the myth about the shortage of manpower in the east, about the need to supplement labor resources by transporting convicts.

So, is it only manpower that Siberia needs today? It needs 20th century equipment. All the talk about manpower shortages is just a direct attempt to justify Siberia's extensive development.

The chance of utilizing convict labor is one of the reasons encouraging departments to site beyond the Urals production units which are especially harmful to the environment and could generate protests in the European regions. Some 4,000 convicts from two correctional labor colonies near Lake Baykal worked in the sixties on the construction of the Baykal pulp plant. Other enterprises—not just those which dry up the taiga, pollute the rivers, and suffocate Siberian cities—were also built using the "special contingent." Is it morally right to repeat the great prophecy that Russia's might will be augmented by Siberia, while Siberia is at the same time systematically turned into a dumping ground for industrial waste and the criminal world?

There are other regions where convicts are sent from all over the country with the same persistence. The Komi ASSR was mentioned at the 19th all-union party conference. Major correctional labor camps started being sited there since the late twenties. This leads to high levels of recidivist crime in the republic, has an effect on the moral and psychological climate, and produces protests by the population insisting that convicts serve their sentences wherever the crime has been committed.

A considered approach toward the traditional policy of siting places of deprivation of freedom is demanded of the USSR Gosplan and the USSR MVD and its subdivisions dealing with correctional labor activity. Individuals may be leprous, but we do not and must not have leprous territories.

Economic

Third AUCCTU Plenum Opens in Moscow

LD0508141588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Today a regular AUCCTU plenum started in Moscow, at which the tasks of the trade unions resulting

from the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference are being discussed. Our correspondent Yuriy Gordeyev reports:

[Gordeyev] Three hours ago the speech that Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, president of the AUCCTU, made to those attending the plenum ended. Dwelling on purely production issues to start with, he stressed that it was the duty of the trade unions today to energetically promote the putting into effect of economic methods of management and the consolidation of the country's social and economic development everywhere. Further noting that the 19th all-union party conference paid particular attention to the importance of radical reorientation of our economy on resolving social issues, Comrade Shalayev said:

[Begin Shalayev recording] At the party conference, on behalf of the country's trade unions we expressed complete aporoval of and support for the party line aimed at implementing a strong social policy. As one of the main priorities in its activity, only a policy like that—a strong social policy—can really regenerate the labor, social, and political activity of the masses, and, on that basis, accelerate the development of the economy. The trade unions also see their very own task in implementing it. Having expressed themselves in support of the party's course aimed at social reorientation of economic development, the AUCCTU put forward at the conference the proposal that the share of the national income being channelled into consumption should be increased to 70-80 percent; that is, by 4.5 or 5 points compared with the previous 5-year plan, or by R25.30 billion per year more than in the present 5-year plan, with a simultaneous increase in the expenditure on social and cultural construction. We made proposals on speeding up the implementation of all the changes of direction throughout our production and the whole of our national economy for the satisfaction of the population's demand for consumer goods and services and to accelerate the development of the Group B industries. The implementation of these proposals could create real conditions for solving such major and extremely important social problems as pension security, medical assistance, working and living conditions, the development of education, and raising the people's living standard. The AUCCTU Presidium must resolutely defend and dispute the stand taken by the central economic bodies and the government in working out of the conception of social and economic development for the 13th 5-Year Plan, and also in the working out of annual plans. At the same time, we must define additional specific measures to boost the trade unions' own contribution in accelerating the solution of pressing problems regarding the people's welfare. [end recording]

[Gordeyev] The AUCCTU plenum focused great attention on trade unions protective functions with regard to the rights of the working people and also examined the issue of improving the trade unions' structure. It is envisaged that in the very near future the structure of trade union management will in the main be a dual link one, the management apparatus thereby being cut by 25 percent.

Shalayev Gives Report

LD0608170088 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Trade union tasks at the new stage of Soviet society's perestroyka have been discussed by the All-Union Central Council of the Trade Unions (AUCCTU) at its plenary meeting held here on August 5-6.

The need for the trade union committees and councils to exert greater influence on the development and deepening of the economic reform was underlined in the report of the AUCCTU Chairman Stepan Shalayev and speeches of delegates. Put under the mill [as received] was the stand of trade union organs unable to protect the legitimate interests of the working people in introducing new basic wage rates, reducing the number of workers. There were acute labour conflicts in a number of places, caused by high-handed action, bureaucratism, poor organisation of production. The plenary meeting's decisions underline that trade union committees and activists should see the emergence of conflicts, firmly uphold fair demands of the working people and actively fight against parasitic attitudes, disregard for the interests of the whole society.

Comprehensively discussed at the plenary meeting were questions of self-government, interaction between trade union committees and councils of work collectives, active participation of trade union organisations in elections of economic managers. It is planned to further decentralize trade union organs' managerial functions, to fully eliminate unnecessary guardianship over primary organisations.

The plenary meeting noted that the decisions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU created new possibilities for intensifying interaction between the trade unions and the soviets of people's deputies in elaborating and putting into life joint socio-economic programs of development of regions. The plenary meeting wholly and entirely supported the measures, suggested at the conference, for renewal of the election system, direct election from trade unions of their deputies to supreme bodies of state power.

Speakers at the plenary meeting dwelt with concern on problems of relations between nationalities, which are, in the opinion of trade unions, not only a matter of state, party-and-political significance, but also a matter which concerns the trade union, since the moulding of internationalist conscience takes place mainly in work collectives in primary trade union organisations. The decision was taken to form an AUCCTU standing commission on questions of internationalist activities.

The plenary meeting instructed the AUCCTU Presidium and the Secretariat to consistently uphold trade union proposals for a rise in the 13th Five-Year Plan period (1991-1995) in the national income share channelled for consumption, construction of socio-cultural and housing facilities. The trade union forum supported the principle, proclaimed at the party conference, that a change in prices should not adversely affect the living standards of the people.

The plenary meeting also considered the question of perfecting the trade union structure and reducing the trade union apparatus staff.

First Day 'Information Report'

PM1008102988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Aug 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on AUCCTU Plenum"]

[Text] The Third AUCCTU Plenum began work in Moscow yesterday.

The plenum examined the questions "On Trade Unions' Tasks Arising From the Decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference" and "On the Improvement of the Structure of the USSR's Trade Unions and the Reduction of the Staffs of the Trade Union Organs' Apparatus." The report was delivered by S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU.

The plenum participants were given an opportunity to familiarize themselves in advance with the theses of the AUCCTU report and a roundup of working people's letters on questions of trade union organs' work.

The following took part in the discussion of the report: S.F. Barkov, chairman of Sverdlovsk Oblast Trade Union Council; M.V. Ikharlova, chairman of the Textile and Light Industry Workers' Union Central Committee; V.S. Aleshnikov, leader of a team of lathe operators at Leningrad's "Kirovskiy Zavod" production association; A.V. Aminova, senior lecturer at Kazan State University; V.A. Solovyev, chairman of the Kemerovo Coal Industry Workers' Union Territorial Committee; Ye.Ye. Gambeyeva, chief of the Abolmasovskaya dairy farm of the "Pamyat Lenina" kolkhoz in Orel Oblast; G.K. Turysbekova, senior agronomist of the "Talapty" sovkhoz in Dzhambul Oblast; V.A. Sologub, chairman of the Ukrainian Republic Trade Union Council; V.A. Pozdnyakov, chairman of the Voronezh Tram and Trolley Administration Trade Union Committee; N.I. Pisar, chairman of the Moldavian SSR's "Vyatsa Noue" kolkhoz; A.M. Yakolvev, chairman of the Construction and Building Materials Industry Workers' Union Central Committee; P.K. Kovalev, leader of a team of fitters and repairmen of the "Gomselmash" production association; E. Zhakselekov, chairman of the Kazakh Republic Trade Union Council; V.P. Chupilov, leader of a team of steel workers of the Cherepovetskiy metallurgical combine named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR; N.I. Lubenikov, chairman of the Novosibirsk Oblast Trade Union Council; Ye.S. Chiunina, chairman of the Nikolayevsk-na-Amure shipbuilding plant trade union committee; A.A. Abdullayev, chairman of the Central Asian Railroad Committee of the Railroad Workers' Trade Union; M.K. Konova, senior operative of the Novomoskovskoye "Azot" production association in Tula Oblast, G.P. Sorokina, chairman of the Local Industry and Municipal Services Workers Union Central Committee; A.N. Pechkovskiy, fitter at the "Rostselmash" production association; Kh.N. Lattu, chairman of the Volgograd Oblast Trade Union Council; V.G. Meunargiya, team leader at the Georgian SSR's Ingirskiy tea combine; V.A. Safronov, chairman of the Altay Kray Trade Union Council; V.I. Stepenko, mine excavation machine operator of the "Estonslanets" production association's "Kokhtla" mine; and I.V. Tsvetkova, deputy section chief at the "Minsk" department store in Moscow.

The plenum formed an AUCCTU commission on international work questions.

Yu.I. Ryzhov, sector chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, and leaders of ministries and departments took part in the plenum's work.

The AUCCTU plenum continues work today.

Moscow Cooperatives Hold First Congress

LD0908172988 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Some 700 delegates and over 200 guests attended today the first congress of Moscow cooperatives. A year ago the cooperative movement just started in Moscow, while today it has turned into a massive movement. The law on cooperation in the USSR gave it a strong impetus. This made especially topical the problem of the creation of an association of cooperatives, of an organization representing their interests and defending their rights. This is why the main purpose of the congress is the creation of a Moscow city union of cooperative societies. All the speakers at the congress pointed out the need for creating the union.

The delegates were given draft regulations of the future union. It is rather democratic. The only thing needed by a cooperative to join the union is an application giving its name, specialization, address and the name of its chairman. Any other information about the cooperative will not be needed by the union. The congress, after creating the union of cooperative societies, is supposed to elect the council of the union which will be headed by a collegium made up of three secretaries. They will work voluntarily without receiving any salary for no more than two one-year terms. As for the staff of the union, it will be represented, according to the draft regulations, by

the executive directorate whose members, not being cooperative workers, will work on the contractual basis and without the right of vote on matters concerning the union.

Speakers at the congress pointed out the need for the union of cooperative societies that would uphold the rights and interests of cooperators, as well as the discrepancy between new laws and the obsolete provisions of the old legislation. One of the speakers quoted the following example: the existing penal code envisages punishment for the enterprise and the activities which are advocated by the law on cooperation in the USSR. Apart from it, the new law runs counter to the obsolete labour legislation of the USSR, specifically, on the problem of the length of the working week. "All this is evidence both of the need for improving the legislation and of the usefulness of the organization that would protect the interests of cooperators", delegates to the congress said.

Speakers cited several interesting figures describing the development of the cooperative movement in Moscow. There are over 3,000 cooperatives registered in Moscow today. The value of the goods they produced and services they rendered in the seven months of the current year stands at about 100 million roubles. However, it is only the beginning. Their goods and services meet today only one per cent of the demand of the Moscow population. Specialists believe that the figure should be no less than 25 per cent.

The first congress of Moscow cooperatives is expected to end its work tonight with the adoption of a decision on the creation of the union of cooperative societies, the approval of its regulations and the election of its steering bodies.

Economist Discusses Ruble Convertibility

PM0908144788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Y.A. Konstantin answers readers' questions under the "Community" rubric: "The Ruble Should Be Made Convertible: Specialist Conducts Dialogue with Readers"—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The editorial mailbag includes letters written by people who are interested in how cooperation is progressing among the CEMA members and what innovation is resulting from their interaction. This, of course, is no coincidence. Together with restructuring in our country, renewal, and major reforms in the fraternal states there is also a "reconstruction" of relations within the CEMA framework. The CEMA partners have set a determined course toward restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and deepening socialist economic integration.

Readers ask for an explanation of certain provisions and concepts which have appeared in CEMA members' documents. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the 44th meeting of the CEMA session at the beginning of July this year discussed the formation of a single socialist market, the transfer to a freely convertible ruble, the significance of the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor, and other urgent questions. "Could the editorial office not discuss this in greater detail?" Kursk student N. Petrina asks.

There were quite a few similar requests in these letters. The editorial office decided to invite eminent specialists to discuss them with readers. Today's conversation on how to make the ruble a convertible currency is conducted by RSFSR Meritorious Scientist Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof Yuriy Anatolyevich Konstantinov.

"My comrades at work and I myself do not really understand what the convertibility of the ruble means and why it is necessary." (Engineer A. Fomina from Monchegorsk).

Judging by these letters many PRAVDA readers have similar questions. I shall try to keep my answer brief. The convertibility of a currency means the guaranteed possibility of exchanging it for foreign currencies, which is important in various international transactions. The Soviet ruble and the national monetary units of the other CEMA countries have been used until now in reciprocal payments only in non-trade circulation: when exchanging delegations and cultural figures, for tourist trips, and so forth. In this instance the limited exchange of national currencies is permitted.

In our country the question of the convertibility of the ruble was raised at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. This was linked with the USSR's more active participation in foreign economic ties and the radical restructuring of the economic mechanism and the management of the economy. The plenum put forward the task of increasing the purchasing power of the ruble and phasing in its convertibility, first of all in the CEMA context.

I would note that the need for such steps in our country and in the other fraternal states is conditioned by profound changes in our mutual cooperation and the development of new progressive forms of it. I have in mind direct ties among labor collectives, production sharing, and joint enterprises. The partners often have to take prompt economic decisions. The system of money transactions must also be mobile and flexible. The convertibility of the ruble and other national currencies will make it possible to better link the results of foreign economic activity with enterprises' economically accountable interests.

"Quite often I come across complaints in the newspaper about the shortage of Western currencies: There isn't enough to buy medicines or coffee. Perhaps we should just make our ruble freely convertible?" (Pensioner S. Smirnov from Irkutsk)

If only all our problems could be resolved by a single decree! But life isn't like that, Comrade Smirnov. The introduction of the convertibility of the national currency is no simple matter. Interest alone is not enough here. There are obligatory conditions without which it is impossible to support the mechanism of convertibility, as world practice shows.

The country must continuously satisfy currency holders' demand for goods and services and in the required quantity and range. It is subsequently obliged to constantly maintain at the necessary level the opportunity to exchange its currency for foreign currencies and to ensure a realistic and relatively stable rate for its monetary unit, which depends on the stability of its purchasing power. More haste, less speed. I recall how under U.S. pressure, Britain, although economically insufficiently prepared, hastened to announce the convertibility of the pound sterling in 1947. The result: The free exchange of the pound lasted just 35 days. It took time and effort to return to that question and resolve it.

While desiring to have our own convertible currency we understand the need for radical economic and organizational measures. It is necessary to ensure the steady increasing of production efficiency and a considerable increase in labor productivity, to reorganize the foreign trade turnover structure, to increase the proportion of the processing sectors in export, and to raise their output to world's technical standards. This essentially is the aim of the radical reform of the economic mechanism. Of the practical measures I would also mention the substantial expansion of commodity stocks, the strengthening of the monetary system, and the adjustment of prices, which would make it possible to more accurately determine the ruble's purchasing power and its rate in relation to other currencies.

Given these conditions the argument that the Soviet economy could be undermined by the free convertibility of the ruble would be groundless.

"I read that some CEMA countries, including our own, have already agreed on the convertibility of their national currencies. Does this mean that the ice has been broken? (L. Moiseychikov, Moscow)

Yes, it may be said that the "ice has been broken." At the past two CEMA sessions the interested countries advocated the use of national currencies in payments among themselves. For the time being, however, this is to affect individual spheres of cooperation. By the middle of this year the corresponding bilateral intergovernmental documents had been signed by the USSR and Czechoslovakia, the USSR and Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Now in addition to using collective currency (the transfer ruble), enterprises and economic organizations in those states can carry out reciprocal transactions among themselves using their own national currencies: the Soviet ruble, the Bulgarian lev, and the Czechoslovak koruna.

There is a restriction, admittedly. For the time being only parties to agreements on direct ties and on the creation of joint enterprises and international associations can exercise this right. How are transactions made? For instance, for components sold to a Bulgarian plant the Soviet enterprise receives payment in rubles and for the purchase of equipment it transfers payment in levs. Collectives' leaders have been given the right to choose for themselves the form of transaction with their CEMA partners—in national currencies or transfer rubles. They are not obliged to try to achieve a balance of reciprocal supplies. That is the task of the relevant central economic organs. In principle other types of transaction are also possible, specifically when the importer uses his own national currency to pay the exporter.

The new transaction system has already begun to operate. Contributions to joint enterprises' incorporation capital have been made in national currencies. Trade operations have been conducted in industry and in the sphere of the USSR Gosagroprom.

Nevertheless, I have to say that we are dealing today with transitional forms of convertible currencies. First, it is limited to individual spheres of cooperation. And second, it is two-way. However, convertibility itself is a multifaceted phenomenon.

"I have to say that I am a pessimist. It seems to me that it is too early to talk about the convertibility of the ruble and the national currencies of the other CEMA countries. We have accumulated so many problems!" (M. Knyazeva, a doctor from Chekhov in Moscow Oblast).

A number of letters contain that theme. What can I say on that score? Of course, the initial potential for convertibility, particularly of the Soviet ruble, is not entirely favorable. Radical changes have still not taken place in our economy. There is a shortage of many types of output, which makes the convertibility of the ruble into goods within the country difficult. The Law on the State Enterprise is not operating fully. Planning, finances, supply, and price formation, in other words, the economic levers on which the normal functioning of the convertibility of the ruble depends, need to be updated.

A number of problems in the CEMA international market have not been resolved. For a number of reasons—the structure of trade turnover, some countries' foreign debt, and so forth—the dynamics of reciprocal trade turnover have fallen to an intolerably low level. Since 1985 the total value of deliveries among CEMA countries increased by only 4 percent.

There have not yet been fundamental improvements in CEMA countries' reciprocal cooperation, either. The historically formed extensive model of the division of labor among them persists. I could go on naming problems which have accumulated over the years in the CEMA countries and in their collaboration. But to draw a pessimistic conclusion from that is wrong, to say the least. The fraternal states are clearing the way to the future by joint efforts. They are opening up prospects for progressive new forms of cooperation.

While speaking with a healthy and justified optimism about the convertibility of the Soviet ruble, the problem of its convertibility into the capitalist countries' currencies is equally topical. This would promote the USSR's more active participation in the worldwide division of labor, which would reflect the real fact that the USSR is a major industrial power. The sphere in which the convertibility of the ruble may be used is essentially already being formed. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union intends to considerably expand its ties with Western companies and is creating joint enterprises with them.

In brief, a practical need exists. Our ruble must ultimately become convertible.

Agricultural

Nikolayev Oblast Harvest Progress Reported

PM1008093188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the rubric "1988 Harvest" and the general heading: "Grain for the Motherland"]

[Text] Nikolayev, 5 Aug—The arable farmers of Nikolayev Oblast have fulfilled the plan for the sale of grain to the state. With an annual target of 1.07 million tonnes, 1,072,000 tonnes have been poured into the state granaries. Nine rayons are selling grain over and above the plan.

"An important feature of the present harvesting toil is the high quality of the grain which is being sent to the grain procurement workers," N. Alekseyenko, deputy chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee, says. "Over 670,000 tonnes of valuable wheat have reached the elevators. That is the result of the introduction of economic methods of management."

The present harvest is a record one for the oblast's grain growers. Every hectare is now producing 34.4 quintals of grain. And in the past few days the steady trend toward an increase in yield has been maintained.

The sale of grain to the state is continuing. At the same time the foundation is being laid for the next harvest. Over 630,000 tonnes of cleared land have been prepared for sowing. The seeds of stubble crops have been embedded on 63,000 hectares. Among these crops corn, rye, cruciferae, and cabbage for feed predominate. This will make it possible to obtain a substantial increase to forage stocks and to extend the operation of the green feed harvesting process to November-December.

Agricultural Developments for 8-9 Aug Noted

LD1008002888 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 8-9 August. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

8 August:

In Tambov Oblast 600,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to the state to date; this is 65 percent of the plan. (0204)

Farms in southern oblasts in Kazakhstan are conducting silage procurement. The main silage crop in the republic is corn, occupying more than 2.5 million hectares. (1100)

Agricultural workers in Dzhambul Oblast have suplied 405,000 of grain to procurement enterprises, overfulfilling their plan. (1300)

To date, 600,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to state granaries in Tambov Oblast, 65 percent of the planned target. In Uzbekistan, almost 120,000 hectares have been sown to corn; teams have harvested 60 and more quintals of grain per hectare, but poor use of equipment has led to inferior results in some areas. Secondary harvesting of perennial grasses is under way in Altay; so far 2.7 million tonnes of hay, haylage, and vitaminous grass meal have been laid in, rather less than at the same period last year. (1500)

Ryazan Oblast has started harvesting feed corn on 170,000 hectares. (1800)

Nikolayev Oblast farmers have delivered to state granaries 1.072 million tonnes of grain, compared to the annual target of 1.07 million tonnes. Orel Oblast farms fulfilled their socialist obligations with 500,000 tonnes of wheat, rye, and barley. (1800)

9 August:

In Saratov Oblast 400,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to reception centers. (0400)

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Work on 'Progress' Craft

LD0908103788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0728 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent reports from Flight Control Center:

Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are completing work on the automatic cargo craft Progress-37. Today they will carry out the final unloading operations and will start filling the emptied compartment of the craft with spent equipment.

The pumping of fuel in the tanks of the joint propulsion unit of the station is continuing. This work is done on commands from the Flight Control Center, and is monitored by the crew.

A correction has been made to the orbit of the manned Mir complex, using the engines of the Progress-37 craft. Its present parameters are: apogee 375 km; perigee 355 km; orbital period 91.6 minutes; and inclination 51.6 degrees.

According to telemetry data and crew reports, the flight is proceeding normally. Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov feel fine.

Crew Leader Views Afghan Cosmonauts' Training

LD0908190988 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova reports from the stellar town Zvyozdnyy:

Members of the first Soviet-Afghan crew are taking today an exam at the Don-732 training apparatus. They are to show how they learned to bring a spaceship close to the Mir orbital complex using a porthole. It is one of the reserve versions of this operation in outer space.

"I am sure that Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, my colleague from Afghanistan, will successfully pass the test and the concluding exam", said Vladimir Lyakhov, pilot-cosmonaut of the USSR, commander of the first Soviet-Afghan crew. The crew includes Valeriy Polyakov, a physician as well.

The second international crew consists of Anatoliy Berezovoy, pilot-cosmonaut of the USSR, German Arzamazov, a physician, and Muhammad Dauran Ghulam Ma'sum, an Afghan pilot.

The Soviet-Afghan crew will start a space flight on August 29. The Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are expecting the guests at the Mir orbital complex. They have been working there since December 21, last year.

Vladimir Lyakhov pointed out high professional skill of his Afghan colleagues and their good knowledge of Russian which facilitated their training before the space flight. "It would be untrue to say that during the training our Afghan colleagues made no mistakes. However, I can state with a full sense of responsibility that they never repeated their mistakes which is very important for a pilot, a cosmonaut. I am surprised at their presistence in mastering sophisticated space technology, the desire to learn more than it is envisaged by the program", the commander of the first crew said.

Our two crews are bound by the close ties of friendship, he continued. "The atmosphere of mutual support and trust reigns in our small group made up of three people. Our families also became friends. We visited each other on many occasions. The management of the cosmonauts' training centre near Moscow gave comfortable flats to the Afghan pilots. We live in the same apartment house. Bibi Gol, wife of my colleague Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, is a correspondent of the Kabul-based newspaper HEYWAD. Their first child, a daughter, was born when the couple were living in the stellar town. Now she is three months old. The happy parents gave her the name of Khilya which stands for 'dream'", Vladimir Lyakhov told TASS.

TASS Reports Death of Cosmonaut Levchenko

LD0908170388 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Anatoliy Levchenko, Hero of the Soviet Union, merited test pilot cosmonaut of the USSR, member of the CPSU since 1965, died on August 6 after a grave illness, it was announced here today.

Levchenko was born in the town of Krasnokutsk, Kharkov region, on May 21, 1941.

In 1959, he entered the Chernigov Higher Air School and served in the Air Force upon graduation.

A skilled test pilot, he was invited to test space technology. He joined a detachment of test cosmonauts in 1981. In December 1987 Levchenko took part in an expedition on board the spacecraft Soyuz TM-4 and the orbital station Mir.

An obituary signed by the leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state said that Levchenko displayed personal courage, broad outlook and professionalism. He was a highly principled person.

Levchenko enjoyed well-deserved love and great respect of all people who knew him.

Balloon for Possible Mars Probe Tested

LD0908225388 Moscow TASS in English 2245 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Vilnius August 9—TASS special correspondents Vladimir Isachenkov and Genrikas Labanauskas write:

Balloons on which man first rose into the skies can be used for the exploration of other planets. Experiments with the balloon which is similar for its size to the future Martian balloon were started by Soviet and American

specialists on the airodrome of the flying club of the Lithuanian city of Kaunas. The multi-colour balloon already made the first flights over the area close to Kaunas.

The Soviet Martian expedition which is to be launched in 1994 will include an orbital craft, a lander, various measuring probes and a balloon. Detailed studies of the Martian atmosphere and soil are to be made with its use. It will also be used for telephotography of the planet's surface.

"The purpose of the current flights is to establish what kind of a basket should be designed for the Martian balloon, to check how some instruments function during the take-off and landing", Dr Vyacheslav Linkin, leading Soviet expert for balloon probes from the Institute of Space Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences told this interviewer. Dr. Linkin said that balloons were used in planetary explorations for the first time three years ago, when the Soviet spacecraft "Vega-1" and "Vega-2" put them on the Venusian surface.

The current experiments have been organized by the Planetary Society of the USA, the Titan System Incorporatedd, the Institute of Space Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Lithianian Aerostatics society.

Military

Servicemen Die in Air Disaster Over Azov Sea

PM1008151188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "From the USSR Defense Ministry"]

[Text] An aviation disaster involving a military transport aircraft with passengers on board occurred 8 August 1988 over the Azov Sea in the vicinity of the city of Yeysk. There were human casualties. A Defense Ministry commission has been appointed to investigate the causes of the incident.

The USSR Defense Ministry and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate express profound sympathy to the relatives and friends of the military servicemen who perished.

Yazov Article Views Defense Building

PM0808172988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Aug 88 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister: "The Qualitative Parameters of Defense Building"—boldface as published]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Plenum held on 29 July of this year translated into concrete practical measures the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which was a most important political milestone in the restructuring and revolutionary renewal of all spheres of our society's life. Restructuring is also deepening in defense building, of which the building of the Armed Forces is an integral part. The effectiveness of this building, the all-union party conference noted, should be ensured primarily by means of qualitative parameters. This fundamental political principle defines the content and thrust of the work of command and political cadres, party organizations, and all personnel of the Army and Navy in ensuring a level of training and combat readiness of the Armed Forces that meets the demands of the time.

I.

The conclusion drawn by the 19th all-union party conference on the need to ensure the effectiveness of defense building primarily by means of qualitative parameters is innovative in nature. It is based on profound scientific analysis, study of the essence of present-day phenomena, and interpretation of the processes taking place in world development, and at the same time rests on the firm foundations of more than 70 years of experience and the traditions of the CPSU's Leninist policy in the sphere of defense and the country's security.

This policy has always been and remains open, honest, and consistent. Its essence, from the moment of the Soviet state's emergence to this day, is determined by the nature of socialism—a system that is oriented toward peaceful coexistence with states of different social systems and firmly, unconditionally rejects war as a means of resolving interstate political and economic contradictions and ideological disputes.

As for the wars that we have waged, they were imposed on us from outside by imperialist reaction. They were wars in defense of the socialist fatherland. And the victories secured by the Soviet people and their Armed Forces in these just—on our side—wars of liberation were a natural phenomenon. They were in accordance with the vital, crucial interests of all peoples because they heralded the defeat of the forces of aggression and militarism, restricted their potential for unleashing new wars, and strengthened the hope of man's final deliverance from them. Both in their sociopolitical nature and in their worldwide historical significance, they were victories for the sake of progress, for the sake of peace.

Soviet people's commitment to peace is organic and unshakable. Our plans for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the revolutionary restructuring and renewal of society are pinned on peace. It is entirely natural that, while engaging in peaceful, creative labor, our country, like any other, attaches great significance to the inviolability of its borders and to safeguarding the people's peaceful labor. We cherish our motherland, our land, our way of life, our freedom and independence, we cherish everything created by generations of Soviet people. One of our society's moral standpoints that cannot be exchanged and that

nurture its insuperable spiritual strength is that the defense of the socialist fatherland, both according to the Constitution and according to its own essential meaning, is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR and the cause of all the Soviet people.

At the present stage of our society's development, Soviet defense building takes place in strict accordance with the concept of the new political thinking put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress, which defines our party's present policy. This has its concrete, practical embodiment in **the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine**.

One of the main elements of our military doctrine is the principle of defense sufficiency. Its implementation presupposes a steady fall in the levels of military confrontation along with the observance of reciprocity, equality, and identical security of the sides.

It is well known that it is not we who set the limits of these levels. We are ready for them to be radically lowered, for constructive talks on any questions of the reduction of armed forces and armaments, for a joint quest for solutions to the existing imbalances and asymmetries, for the discussion of the necessary verification measures. This is confirmed convincingly by our country's position at the four meetings between the USSR and U.S. leaders, in the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and in the course of the current talks on strengthening peace and cooperation and establishing an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust in Europe and throughout the world.

Life shows that as a result of the efforts of the socialist countries and the broad international public and as a consequence of the realism shown by various states and political circles, the new thinking and the associated positive processes are forging a path in the world arena. But the guarantees of the irreversibility of these processes have yet to take shape; there has not been a radical change for the better. The situation in the world remains complex and contradictory. Imperialist sources of aggression and war continue to exist. A threat to peace from imperialist militarism also persists.

Unequivocal indications as to whom this threat is spearheaded against are provided by the NATO plans for "upgrading" and "compensation" and other militarist programs, and indeed by the whole course of military building in the NATO states, which is carried out in accordance with the principles of the essentially aggressive doctrines of "direct confrontation" and "flexible response."

Naturally, all this is duly assessed and taken into account by our party in the course of the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of defense building and the ways to ensure its effectiveness. The orientation first and foremost toward qualitative parameters is in strict accordance with our defensive military doctrine and wholly accords with the concrete conditions of the present stage of world development. It is dictated, first, by the need to make the positive trends in this development irreversible. Second, by the opportunities for opposing the policy of strength that are opened up by approaches based on the new political thinking in tackling the problems of strengthening international security and peace. And third, by the fact that the emphasis on quantitative indicators is becoming not only increasingly costly, but less and less effective in both military-political terms and purely military terms.

Qualitative parameters with regard to each of the areas of defense building named by the all-union party conference—hardware, military science, the composition of the Armed Forces—have a very specific meaning. Their implementation should be endowed with an equally specific, businesslike, practical nature, in the spirit of the conference demands, which were confirmed with new force by the Central Committee July plenum.

II.

Reliance on qualitative indicators in defense building pursues the objective not of building up the combat might of the Armed Forces—and this must be emphasized quite definitely—but of maintaining this might at a level which precludes military superiority over us and guarantees the reliable protection of Soviet people's peaceful labor and peaceful life. The solution of this task on the basis of a qualitative approach is in line not only with the specific historical conditions of the contemporary stage of international development, as mentioned above, but also with the strategy of restructuring, the spirit and demands of the economic reform, the course of democratization, and the intensification of the role of the human factor.

The accent on quality in terms of **equipment** primarily means radically increasing its reliability and improving its combat specifications. This task is being resolved by our scientists, designers, engineers, technicians, and defense industry workers jointly with military specialists and servicemen from the Armed Forces. There are reserves here, frequently quite sizeable, which must be persistently brought into play. At the same time, it is important to steadily raise the level of the personnel's combat proficiency and technological standards. Moreover, the main feature of this level of proficiency is the ability to intelligently operate and utilize the weapons and combat equipment, and ultimately to obtain from them everything that they are designed to provide, to utilize them most efficiently in any circumstances and conditions, and to attain the best possible results.

The collective nature of modern weapons and combat equipment and the conditions of their application make rigorous demands not only of a serviceman's individual

skills but also of the combat coordination of subunits, units, and ships and presuppose a high degree of interchangeability in combat details and crews. The increase in the role of the time factor dictates the need to master weapons and the methods for utilizing them as swiftly as possible and to constantly improve the fulfillment of combat normatives. Another aspect of the matter, most directly related to quality indicators, must also be mentioned. In order to become a genuine master of a combat speciality it is necessary to love the weapons, be proud of them, and firmly believe in their reliability and might. The experience of the Great Patriotic War, the combat practice of the limited contingent of our troops in Afghanistan, and everyday combat training and service in the Army and Navy show that this is what makes a proper servicemen in the real sense of the word; this is what makes a real officer and soldier.

In terms of **military science** the main quality indicators are linked first and foremost with the accelerated development of its priority avenues, and primarily with the elaboration of new concepts of military art in accordance with the defensive nature of our military doctrine and the search for an effective solution to the problems of the improvement of the system for training military cadres and increasing the effectiveness of the political, military, moral, and legal education of the personnel.

A direct contribution to quality is made by the optimization of the organizational structure of the Armed Forces' scientific establishments, the improvement of the leadership of scientific work, the raising of the level of equipment available for it, the improvement of the material base in general, the narrowing of the gap between military-theoretical and military-technical research, a decisive improvement in the fruitfulness of this research, and a reduction in the time taken to introduce theoretical conclusions, scientific recommendations, and technical innovations into practice.

It was stressed at the CPSU Central Committee July plenum that without active assistance from science we will not cope with the tasks of restructuring. This also applies in full to restructuring in the Armed Forces. The universally known demand for an indissoluble interconnection between theory and practice is twice and three times as valid for military science. Its main laboratories are the field, the air, the sea, and everyday Army and Navy practice. And it can move forward, improve in qualitative terms, and benefit the building of the Armed Forces in tangible, concrete terms only on the basis of joint efforts by scientists, the collectives of military training and scientific research establishments, and commanders, political workers, specialist officers, and all our military cadres.

To this day our military thought is often still fettered by passivity, stereotyped thinking, and a lack of competition between ideas and opinions. It is difficult to count on a high return from it unless obsolete approaches, methods, and stereotypes are abandoned and the entire situation in military science is democratized. Creativity, initiative, bold questing, reasonable risk—these represent oxygen for real science and it is only as a result of them that its creative potential can be fully disclosed.

The qualitative improvement of the Armed Forces from the viewpoint of their **composition** presupposes first and foremost the creation of an organizational structure for staffs and troops which ensures that they are in keeping with their objectives, match their purpose to the maximum extent, translate their existing combat potential into reality most fully, and unconditionally fulfill their prescribed tasks for the minimum expenditure of funds and resources. Here the development of the branches and categories of troops must be not only balanced to the highest degree but must also take into account the practical steps currently being implemented along the path of disarmament and the prospects for disarmament and fully match the demands of the defensive doctrine.

Improvements in the system of control and its efficiency lead to improvements in the qualitative characteristics of the Armed Forces. This work is being carried out in two directions. The first includes the improvement of training and combat coordination among control bodies, and the second involves the extensive automation of this control. It is perfectly obvious that only interconnected progress in both of these directions can ensure a real increase in the quality of control. It is equally obvious that the criteria of quality must be not the number of orders, directives, instructions, or other documents prepared by given bodies or the number of visits made or checks and inspections carried out but the extent of the actual impact made on improving matters in the formations, units, or ships under your jurisdiction and on increasing the practical results achieved in combat readiness, troop training, and military discipline.

The introduction of quality parameters with respect to Armed Forces personnel presupposes a rise in the standard of the operational and combat training of troops and naval forces and the utmost intensification of this training. Highly organized and distinguished by being of a modern methodological standard, integrated, economical, and yielding the maximum useful return from every hour and every minute spent under instruction, this training must constitute in practice the main content of the life and activity of staffs and troops. In addition to improving combat training normatives and implementing measures to regularize the training and educational process, the operating mechanism for improving quality here involves the uncompromising eradication of pomp and show, lack of preciseness, and oversimplification, "automatic reaction training" of personnel, and the process of diverting them from training to other things.

For all the importance of other factors in the qualitative improvement of Armed Forces personnel, a special role in resolving this task belongs to the strengthening of troop discipline. Deviations from its demands and

norms and manifestations of lack of diligence, irresponsibility, and negligence or dereliction of duty inevitably have a negative impact on the combat readiness and combat capability of a subdivision, unit, or ship. Strong and conscious troop discipline is simultaneously a condition, a means, and a guarantee of restructuring and the renewal of military life. It forms part of the basis of regulation order, which ensures the consistent implementation of the principle of one-man command, the precise functioning of the entire troop organism, and the creation of a healthy moral and psychological atmosphere in the collective.

Regulation order guarantees the implementation of the rights and freedoms granted to a serviceman as a Soviet citizen in unity with the obligations of military service imposed on him, respect for the dignity of the individual, and attention to his interests, requirements, and needs. Favorable conditions are thereby opened up for the personnel's creative potential to be revealed and to be widely utilized for improving the qualitative indicators of combat training and service.

Ultimately the everyday practical work of commanders, political organs, party and Komsomol organizations, and all Armed Forces personnel to implement the directives of the 19th all-union party conference in the sphere of defense building is subordinated to ensuring a level of combat readiness of troops and naval forces which would guarantee the reliable defense of the motherland, socialism, and peace however the international situation develops and whatever reductions of troops and armaments and other organizational and technical measures are carried out. The further broadening of the restructuring front and the deepening of the process of democratization in the Armed Forces promote the successful fulfillment of this task.

III.

The process of democratization is **inevitable** for our Armed Forces as a section of the people, for whom the revolutionary restructuring of society has become a vital cause. It is aimed at restoring and deepening the norms and principles of military life and activity stemming from the socialist nature of our Armed Forces and based on social justice and respect for the individual. Democratization presupposes the affirmation of the equal responsibility of all servicemen before the law and the demands of the oath and the regulations regarding the discharge of military duty and official obligations. As far as command and political cadres are concerned, this is also a political and moral responsibility to their subordinates for the quality of management and the general course and state of affairs in subunits and units and on ships. This most important facet of democratization must not be forgotten.

At the same time, the process of democratization is **natural** for the Soviet Armed Forces because the democratic spirit is fundamentally inherent in our military organization born of the socialist social and state system. It is embodied in the social and national composition of the officer corps, which is identical to the composition of drafted servicemen, and in the principles of Army and Navy staffing, training, and education. Our general military regulations and the demands of military discipline, which, according to Lenin, is socialist, conscious, and comradely, are imbued with a spirit of democracy.

There is a close dialectical dependence between the democratization of military life and the qualitative state of the Armed Forces. By involving the mass of military servicemen in the active, interested, and responsible solution of the tasks facing military collectives, democratization promotes the fuller utilization of the intellectual and spiritual potential of all the democratic institutions in the Army and the Navy. It creates the preconditions for ensuring that the **human factor** really begins to operate actively, without which the parameters of quality with regard to hardware, military science, and the composition of the Armed Forces cannot be achieved. It is only through people's activity, initiative and creativity, conscientious labor, and cohesion and selflessness that the Army and the Navy can be raised to a qualitatively new level of combat readiness, combat training, and discipine.

There is no alternative to democratization for achieving the final destruction of the braking mechanisms which still persist in the Armed Forces. These include the formal and bureaucratic methods which are still current among some military cadres. They include the inertia of wage-leveling, consumerism, freeloading, and the related social apathy and psychology of "favoritism" among some servicemen. They include, as before, the acute lack of individual work with people.

The key to eliminating the braking mechanisms was given in the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference and the specific paths, forms, and methods for solving this task were provided by the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The struggle to improve qualitative indicators means first and foremost the struggle against **bureaucracy**. But not a "general" struggle—a nonspecific, depersonalized one. Such a struggle will hardly produce a result. Bureaucracy is a concrete phenomenon, and the carriers of it in the Army and the Navy are also quite concrete. It has infected those military leaders of various ranks and titles who display high-handedness and arrogance, disregard for the interests of subordinates, callousness, the use of red tape, and a desire to shift responsibility onto others. The distinguishing features of the bureaucrat are the habit of waiting for instructions on any matter, of looking to the "leadership," and of trying to anticipate and fall in line with its opinion and the attempt to avoid the solution of concrete questions and tasks and to shirk real work by means of futile paperwork. As a rule the bureaucrat attributes his own shortcomings, omissions, and failings in work to others, often to his subordinates,

for the results of whose work he is personally responsible. It is very important to see all this, to evaluate it uncompromisingly and eradicate it most resolutely from Army and Navy life.

During the restructuring of military life commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organs are being increasingly resolutely turned toward questions of **national relations** in Army and Navy collectives. The 19th all-union party conference stressed that service in the ranks of the Soviet Army and Navy must be a real schooling in internationalism. The task is a responsible one and demands a knowledge of the culture and traditions of the peoples of our motherland, thoughtfulness, an equal and even-handed attitude toward servicemen of different nationalities, identical exactingness toward and concern for them, and the cohesion of personnel on the principles of friendship and fraternity. The fulfillment of this task is among the most important conditions for ensuring the Armed Forces' building by means of qualitative indicators.

Glasnost is an effective weapon of restructuring, democratization, and the exposure and utilization of reserves for improving the qualitative state of the Armed Forces. The atmosphere of glasnost helps to develop in servicemen an active life stance, to mobilize the organizing and educational potential of public opinion, and to assert in military collectives an atmosphere of high political activeness and intolerance of all phenomena of stagnation, instances of unconscientiousness, carelessness, and nonregulation of mutual relations. The most vulnerable point in this question at present is the passivity of junior commanders, soldiers, and sailors in the struggle against shortcomings and for restructuring. The most important task of democratization and of all restructuring in the Army and the Navy is to inspire them, to help them believe in the strength of Army and Navy people and collectivism, and to arouse them to become consciously and actively involved in this struggle.

Glasnost presupposes the possibility of a free and open exchange of opinions. Pluralism of opinions in no way runs counter to military order. What is more, the need to listen to the opinion of subordinates and the collective and to consider this opinion in our work is envisaged by our general military and combat regulations. Quite naturally, they do not allow criticism and discussion of orders; however, at the same time, in no way do they identify the right to make decisions and give orders with rigid, static thinking. The Leninist principle of which we were reminded by the all-union conference must come into play here: There must be free discussion of all problems and unity of action after the adoption of decisions. It should be emphasized that glasnost presupposes businesslike criticism and has absolutely nothing in common with empty carping or attempts to replace democracy with demagoguery.

Effective **legal education** for personnel is of great significance for the aware, responsible, and therefore good-quality fulfillment of military service duties by servicemen, for their observance of the order and regulations established in the Army and Navy, and, at the same time, for the display of initiative and creativity within the limits of the rights granted to them. This education must be firmly linked to real life and to Army and Navy practice and be implemented within the framework of the general legal education which the all-union party conference decided to organize.

In the Armed Forces, as in our society as a whole, the process of restructuring and democratization was begun by the party and is developing under its leadership. Being the conduits of CPSU policy in the Army and the Navy, command and political cadres are called upon to organize this process and channel it in the direction of qualitative improvement of the Armed Forces. The ability to head this process and ensure that it develops and grows deeper is now a most important indicator of the political, professional, and moral maturity of commanders, political workers, and all officers.

Solving the tasks of the qualitative improvement of the Armed Forces makes special demands on cadres' competence and their ability to act in conditions of democratization and glasnost and to find new, nonstandard approaches to the problems of military life—from combat readiness to sociocultural conditions. Something that is of fundamental significance is the revival of spiritual closeness to subordinates, which some officers have lost. The ability of commanders and political workers to use their authority to the full in the interests of the cause and take responsibility upon themselves has been filled with new meaning. Everyday practice shows that success attends those officers who act independently, creatively, and with initiative, relying on the party and Komsomol organization and the military collective, and using the role and influence of officers' meetings, permanent certification commissions, personnel meetings, comrades' courts of honor, women's councils, and other democratic institutions.

The experience we have accumulated in restructuring clearly shows that party organizations are its generator and the accelerator of the democratization process in the Army and Navy. The realization of the potential existing in a subunit, unit, or ship to improve qualitative indicators in training, service, discipline, and combat readiness directly depends on their militancy, on their activeness in internal party life, and on ensuring that Communists set a personal example and play a vanguard role. Party leadership of the Army and Navy Komsomol requires a new quality. As stated at the conference, a fundamental task is to bring everything within the framework of practical work and not permit excessive tutelage and organization. It is important to channel the creative potential of Komsomol organizations into developing in young servicemen correct notions of honor, dignity,

comradeship, and friendship, cultivating patriotism and internationalism, and establishing the high prestige of conscientious military work and an unshakable loyalty to military duty.

All ideological and political education work must be geared to this. It must be organized in such a way as to ensure that the individual is the constant focus of attention and that, as noted at the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the ideas of restructuring gain an increasingly broad hold on the masses and theory really becomes a material force of restructuring.

The time demands that command and political cadres and party and Komsomol organizations in the Army and Navy work vigorously to give restructuring greater dynamism and effectiveness and face them with the need to put an end to shillyshallying and deal a final blow to everything impeding our progress. It is precisely this kind of work—imbued with a sense of great responsibility for the fate of restructuring and for reliably ensuring our country's security and our people's peaceful labor—that is called upon to raise our Armed Forces to a qualitatively new level.